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ABSTRACT

A study of bilingual education in the Northwest Territories is conducted to survey literature on bilingual education; to assess programs being implemented at present in the Northwest Territories; to seek views and ideas of individuals involved in and interested in northern education; and to develop recommendations for changes and/or increased emphasis in order that the Northwest Territories Department of Education may respond to residents with programs which may satisfy educational and cultural needs of students. The material presented is related to the situation in the Eastern Arctic and is written about the areas in which Inuktitut is spoken. Topics addressed in the report include: an historical view; present status of bilingual education; rationale for bilingual education (definition, purpose, and involvement); factors influencing learning process (cultural and language); mother tongue instruction; language acquisition; and the teacher. Nine recommendations with rationale and a 41-item bibliography conclude the document. (ERB)

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BILINGUAL EDUCATION

An Overview and Recommendations

A report and recommendations concerning bilingual education prepared by the Department of Education for submission to the Minister of Education.

Programs & Evaluation Branch
Department of Education, Northwest Territories
June 1981

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FOREWORD

The present study was conducted to consider a number of areas:

a) to survey the literature on bilingual education;

b) to assess programs being implemented at present in the Northwest Territories;

c) to seek the views and ideas of individuals involved in and interested in northern education;

and

d) to develop recommendations for changes and/or increased emphasis in order that the Northwest Territories Department of Education may respond to the wishes of residents with programs which satisfy the educational and cultural needs of the students.

Without doubt, these areas have not been exhausted by any means and, hopefully, there will be continuing input to the question of language education in the Northwest Territories. This is to be desired and is in keeping with the present climate in the area of research in bilingual education.

The material presented within this report concerning northern programs, relates to the situation in the Eastern Arctic. Although much of the research into bilingual education will be relevant to the situation in Western Arctic communities, the report was written with the areas in which Inuktitut is spoken in mind. Additional study of the situation in Western communities is necessary.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

The Northwest Territories Department of Education gratefully acknowledges the contribution of many people from the field and headquarters who assisted in the preparation of this report on bilingual education.

Principals, teachers, classroom assistants and local education authority members from many eastern arctic communities offered numerous helpful suggestions and viewpoints. Special mention should be made of those in the communities of:

Frobisher Bay
Arctic Bay
Pond Inlet
Hall Beach
Cape Dorset
Rankin Inlet
Cambridge Bay
Spence Bay
Nanisivik
Eskimo Point
Coral Harbour
Igloolik
Gjoa Haven

Members of regional office staffs in Frobisher Bay, Rankin Inlet and Cambridge Bay also contributed significantly.

George Diveky, Bronwyn Watters, Phil Howard, Peter Hyde, Cindy Chambers, Susan Hyde and Bonnie Reich served as an advisory committee during the preparation of the report and their ideas and suggestions were of considerable value.

It has been through the positive input received from all and from suggestions and recommendations received from senior departmental staff in response to a draft that this final report has been completed.

Ken Norton, Coordinator, Academic Programs, has been responsible for the preparation of the report.

BILINGUAL EDUCATION

An Historical View

Tremendous changes have taken place throughout the Northwest Territories in the last twenty-five years. The influence of the church and government has been challenged in the wake of an increased awareness in the minds of the northern residents of their place in Canada and of their desire to participate more fully in the mainstream of modern life.

Since both church and government have had significant input into education over past years, it is not surprising that the challenges to the traditional structure are being felt in the sphere of education also. Even within the last fifteen - twenty years, the philosophy of northern education, while under government jurisdiction, has changed considerably. This has been paralleled in many other areas of governmental involvement in the North also.

Over the last few years, serious thought has been directed towards bilingual education. Today the native language is commonly heard throughout schools and in many classrooms it is regularly used as the medium of instruction.

This, however, has not always been the case. There was a time when little or no consideration was given to the inclusion of native language programs or instruction in the education system. Programs were offered in English and the idea of using the aboriginal language as a medium of instruction or of teaching it as a subject was far from most teachers' thoughts. The Federal Department of Indian Affairs and Northern Development, the responsible department at that time, held no expectation that teachers would work towards providing instruction of, or in, the aboriginal language and

parents were not consulted to any degree about what did take place in the school.

With the assumption of responsibility for education by the Department of Education of the Government of the Northwest Territories, a new attitude was soon forthcoming. In the late 1960's, and early 1970's, communities were encouraged to form education advisory committees and soon afterwards cultural inclusion programs were initiated by many schools. In many communities parents were anxious to become more involved in what was being done in the school and local residents were prepared to volunteer time to instruct students in traditional practical skills and language areas. This interest resulted in the first real participation of parents in the government-operated school programs.

The Survey of Education (N.W.T., 1972) stated as one of its recommendations that a goal of the primary school is "to develop basic literacy in the mother tongue." Another is "to introduce English or French as a second language through listening and oral skills." (p. 9). This second goal is also seen as a recurring recommendation in the various briefs submitted as part of the survey and it appears to have taken precedence in the minds of teachers. A fairly insistent voice comes through in these briefs encouraging the teaching of English as a second language so that children could realize their potential as Canadians and compete successfully on the job market, northern or southern as desired.

Not only did the Survey suggest the development of basic literacy in the mother tongue but it also suggested, "Instruction <u>in</u> the mother tongue during the early years of schooling ... is a more effective method of developing skill in the second language than an attempt to introduce it in a forced situation which aims at ignoring or eradicating the first language."

It would appear, however, that the thinking of individual staff members at that time in the Northwest Territories was not completely in tune with the ideas of the Department. There was no unanimity for the concept of mother tongue instruction.

In the "Comments" on the above recommendations in the Survey, the need for the development of native language fluency before introducing the second language was discussed. It was suggested that the years up to eight or ten years of age are the best for second language learning and that the recommended early learning in the native language be followed by a "gradual transition to the second language which is likely to be the dominant language of communication."

It indicated that the previously used English immersion approach which had resulted in a large number of young people having little knowledge of English and limited skills in their mother tongue instruction would be a less profitable approach.

The discussion of the matter was finalized with the following comment:

> "The decision (re native language instruction) should be made by the people themselves and once this has been done it is the responsibility of those in charge of education to make possible whatever is requested." (my emphasis)

The suggested re-orientation towards bilingual education was clearly amplified in "A Handbook for Curriculum Development", (page 82-84) commonly known as the "Red Book", which was introduced by the Department of Education just before publication of the Survey. The approach outlined in the "Red Book", if fully implemented, would have resulted in programs which would have established aboriginal language fluency and

literacy first, followed by an English language program and a language maintenance program supporting the first language. This should have resulted in bilingualism on the part of the students involved. This, for whatever reason, has not happened to any significant degree. Hence an ongoing concern and the present study.

Why was the proposed bilingual education program not implemented following the introduction of the "Red Book"? The reasons may be of some significance in the consideration of the establishment of an environment which does not contribute to or make inevitable the same outcome again.

It may be difficult in a system as wide spread and involving so many different conditions to completely identify all the factors involved. Engle (1975) in her paper, "The Use of Vernacular Language in Education" lists the following issues as ones which must be taken into account in the consideration of such programs.

1. The linguistic relationship between the two languages.
2. The functions of the two languages in the broader community and the possible uses of literacy in each language.
3. The cultural context of learning in the community.
4. The relationship of the two ethnolinguistic groups in the larger society.
5. The initial linguistic status of the child.
6. The period of the child's development in which the second language was introduced.
7. Instructional methods and materials used.
8. The ethnic group membership of the teacher.
9. The training and linguistic knowledge of the teacher.

10. The length of time necessary to observe an effect of the program.

11. The specific subject matter under consideration.

12. The appropriateness of the assessment routines for both languages.

Research is continuing internationally in the investigation of the above factors and much has been added in the past ten years to clarify (or, in some cases, to raise more questions about) the issues.

However, very little valid research has been conducted in the Northwest Territories with respect to the above conditions. In order for this to happen, time, money and qualified personnel are essential. The nature of the North has militated against territory-wide or even regional studies being conducted. The distances and difficulties involved in travel along with the diversity of programs and transiency of staff are all factors complicating the gathering of a pool of information and hard data.

There has been a number of capable individuals who have gained, through years of experience in northern education, a great deal of knowledge but there have been few, if any, well designed research projects to gather reliable data on the linguistic situation or on successful (or unsuccessful) language programs.

Little documentation exists on minor projects or on programs carried out for long or short periods of time so there is a dearth of information on which to base any evaluation of past projects or to use as the basis for future programming.

Recent empirical findings in the international field may raise questions in the minds of some present day readers of the Survey of Education concerning the validity of some of

its statements. For example, the statement, "The years up to eight or ten are the best for young people to develop fluency in a second language", may be questioned in light of some recent research focussing on the optimum age for second language acquisition. (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa 1976, Krashen, et al 1979, Cummins, 1980).

In addition to the above issues, more about which will be discussed in later sections, the following factors may also be considered as being of consequence in the discussion of the question at hand.

The approach suggested in the Department's "Red Book" was a fairly radical approach when viewed against the philosophy which had been in evidence during the former administration as described earlier.

The nature and degree of the suggested changes which were being proposed in the "Red Book" made it appear to many teachers to be a fairly controversial document. It advocated a move away from the traditional classroom in which teachers adhered to a rigid curriculum and taught in a structured and textbook-oriented manner. It placed expectations on teachers which many accepted readily but which many others saw as a challenge to their traditional control of the classroom and it tested their readiness to accept innovative approaches.

The presentation of the handbook and the workshops designed to facilitate its introduction to the members of the teaching staff were sometimes centres of vigorous debate concerning the pros and cons of the philosophy.

The aim of the handbook was not realized, partly because many teachers, over time, found themselves unable (or unprepared) to research and develop programs as suggested or to use the freedom advocated to their advantage in the classroom.

Because of the flexibility allowed for in the guide, some teachers saw it as a manual which could be followed to the degree to which each felt inclined to do so. Consequently, many used it selectively and to the exclusion of certain subjects or areas of study. In some cases this resulted in biased programs in which students were offered instruction in areas in which the teacher had a special interest or for which there were adequate ready-made support materials. Frequently, these were southern, commercially produced materials and not always relevant to northern programs and students' needs.

Little was done in workshops to educate teachers with respect to the range and validity of existing research into first and second language learning, use of the mother tongue for instruction and the relevance of various approaches of bilingual education for the northern system.

Many teachers had been indoctrinated with or had developed for themselves, the "common sense" belief that the more English provided the better the students would perform and the sooner they got it the better. In spite of this belief, many teachers were not offering sound English-as-a-second-language programs. This was due partly to a lack of direction and support with respect to program implementation offered by the Department and also to the fact that many teachers had little or no experience or training in this area.

Some attempts were made to provide information to teachers over the subsequent years with respect to second language teaching, E.S.L., and bilingual education as is evidenced by the Department's publications, One Tongue Or Two, (Smith, 1974), English Two (N.W.T., 1975), and Story Time (N.W.T., 1978). These were made available and placed in schools and have, no doubt, contributed to the developing awareness of

many teachers in the system about bilingual education, however, there was little which was available which provided program guidance beyond the first year of the school program.

The language program which was provided by teachers was frequently an English immersion program offering a southern language arts program with little modification. This was presented without consideration of the fact that the target group had a different first language and culture. For many teachers, the jump from an English immersion program to that of mother tongue instruction as suggested in the "Red Book", was just too great for many to take.

Cohen and Swain suggest that "the reality of the situation for the non-English speaker in English-medium schools is perhaps better reflected in the term 'submersion' than 'immersion.' Submersion reflects the sink-or-swim nature of the school experience for the minority group student."

Although the outline of a bilingual education program had been provided in the Handbook little attention was directed to this by the Department.

Within the teaching staff of the N.W.T. Department of Education at that time there were almost no aboriginal language speaking teachers. Classroom assistants were being used in schools in a wider range of responsibilities than they had been previously but the Classroom Assistant Program had not progressed a great deal beyond the stage at which one of its purposes was to encourage promising students to stay in school (and help out as classroom assistants on a part-time basis for pay). Many assistants had minimal or no training. Courses that had been provided for them were generally not oriented to developing the classroom assistant as a language teacher who could also teach other subjects in the native language. The recently started Teacher Education

Program had not advanced to the stage where sufficient bilingual teachers to fill the needs of the system were being trained.

So, although the intent had been stated in the guide, it was almost impossible to implement a bilingual program, simply because there were insufficient bilingual personnel involved in the system, funds were not adequate to hire extra specialist staff and materials to support this type of program were extremely limited. The preparation of such materials was considered, in large part to be the responsibility of the classroom teacher and assistant, neither of whom had sufficient time to do this.

Several submissions to the previously mentioned Survey of Education spoke highly of the contribution that classroom assistants were making, although this generally referred to their usefulness as interpreters or in the teaching of English. Almost all references to classroom assistants suggested that additional training was needed. However, there was little suggestion that they should be involved in the type of bilingual program which the Red Book had proposed.

The Red Book expressed concern about the limited awareness that many teachers had of the aboriginal way of life and language and encouraged teachers to make every attempt to overcome these shortcomings by reading, observation and by meeting residents and parents in the community in which they lived and worked. Courses in Inuktitut were made available to some teachers interested in taking them, although the type and length of the courses made it impractical for all or even a majority of teachers to take one. In spite of these suggestions, the Handbook did not actively encourage the involvement of parents or community in the development of and participation in the school program other than as occasional

resource people. Education, as proposed by the Red Book, was still predominantly a system imposed from the outside even though development of an awareness of the subject culture was encouraged.

> "Community planning with parents and community before instituting a program of this sort (use of the vernacular in education) is essential for children's learning and for developing the goals of the program." (Engle, 1975).

A similar recommendation is offered by Modiano, (1973), for Indian education in the U.S.; Parker, (1975), for Alberta Indian education; Watts (1973), for Australian aboriginal education.

The early development of Local Education Advisory Boards did not in most cases include discussions concerning the development of bilingual programs or the use of the mother tongue as the medium of instruction. With a few notable exceptions, program development, based on the Red Book philosophy, was still basically a system imposed from outside the community.

The Red Book jumped too far from the status quo too quickly and without a logical plan for implementation. Its idealism is remarkable in a system in which practicality must be the by-word.

As a result of this state of affairs, little was done towards the provision of more than some basic instruction of the native language. In many instances this instruction was devoted almost completely to the writing and drilling of syllabics with little regard for other aspects of language development. The individuals responsible for this training were conscientious and well intentioned and were doing a job

which was considered necessary but they had little guidance and no overall program to follow.

The Survey's statement in 1972 that "it is the responsibility of those in charge of education to make possible whatever is requested" provides the clue as to why the bilingual programs outlined in the Red Book never became reality. The system lacked personnel, materials and the necessary guidelines and direction to make it work.

Because of past failures, the comments in the Survey of Education with respect to the many people who could be considered to be semilingual is still true. In order to combat this problem a further look is being taken at the whole area of bilingual education in the Northwest Territories.

Present Status of Bilingual Education

Anyone who has spent even a little time in any part of the Northwest Territories will know it as a place of extremes, whether reference is being made to the weather, topography, flora, fauna or language.

The linguistic complexity of the North has provided the basis for discussion, study, and thought for some years.

Early missionaries dedicated large parts of their lives to learning the local native language, preparing dictionaries or writing grammar and language texts. In more recent times, some educators have done similar work, perhaps to a less intense degree, and have attempted to come to grips with the difficulties of providing an appropriate system of education for native children.

In few areas of Canada does an education system face a challenge to compare with the one at present being encountered in the Northwest Territories.

More and more former residents of southern Canada are finding homes in the North and demand the type of education they would have enjoyed in Burnaby, British Columbia or Hamilton, Ontario. At the same time there is a steadily strengthening awareness in the minds of many northern native residents that their language is very rapidly being attacked by the influences of the technological age. Things appear out of control and before it is too late, communities and cultural groups wish to regain some input into what their children are receiving for the development of their minds and bodies towards adulthood.

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As most adults recognize, there is a degree of mental adjustment necessary when the activities, interests and pursuits of the young are viewed. The comment "Things certainly have changed since I was young", is common when today's youth is being considered. However, suppose that change includes the use of a new language and the neglect of long standing cultural and social values. A passing comment about changing times is not sufficient to alleviate the dismay and hurt which one may feel for the changes.

To most there will come the understanding, born out of the persistence of the new way of life, that the young people of today are moving with time, that the life style of their grandparents will not satisfy them and that the changes they are facing are not all being met with antogonism but may be faced with eager anticipation.

To provide the means of satisfying the demands of the southerner-come-north, of the native northerner with concerns for his culture, and of the young northerners with whetted appetites for the future, is the task confronting those individuals involved in northern education. This situation is then compounded by the social, economic and political realities and future unknowns.

It is with this background that a look is being taken at the present situation with respect to programs, their relevance and the future direction for education.

In many areas in the past bilingual education has been provided very much as a compensatory program similar to many programs being offered south of the Canada/United States border. These programs are aimed at trying to make up for inadequacies in the social situation and directed primarily to help peoples become part of the dominant or "global" community. In many instances bilingual programs have not

been viewed as a means to prepare members of the minority groups to enter the global community while simultaneously supporting, maintaining and possibly revitalizing the culture and language within the context of the bi- or multi- cultural community.

There is a lack of understanding on the part of many involved in education concerning what is meant by bilingual education. For many, the provision of ESL programs or a native language kindergarten is synonomous with providing bilingual education. This may in some cases be all that a community wants but is certainly not a truly bilingual program. A bilingual program must include instruction through the medium of both the mother tongue and the second language.

In order to provide any type of native language program it is essential that personnel fluent in the language be part of the teaching team. In most schools this person is or will be the classroom assistant, in some schools it may be a northern teacher trained through the Teacher Education Program and rarely, it may be a southern Canadian teacher who has a good command of (but probably not real fluency in) the native language.

Let us look at each of these types of individuals.

The Classroom Assistant

Typically (in the Eastern Arctic) this will be an Inuk with approximately grade eight or nine education and a reasonable command of English. This individual's educational background has been based in the N.W.T. system but took place a number of years ago, generally, at a time when English was the language of instruction and when use of the native language in the school was, if not severely restricted, at least not encouraged. This type of educational background has not

provided the average classroom assistant with a model of bilingual education but rather an English based, and in many cases, fairly traditional educational approach. It has been noted that many assistants tend to operate in much the same way as they remember their own teachers performing. This is not surprising, as many have had few, if any, other models to follow.

Little formal training has been offered in the past years that would help to change the assistant's understanding of what was/is expected of them in the classroom. Most courses offered have provided collections of artwork ideas, preparation of seatwork samples and basic teaching aids for native language or English programs. Little was presented which would provide instruction in methodology, classroom management, linguistics or program development. In many cases there was little continuity of content from one course to the next and difficulty was frequently experienced in obtaining suitable instructors.

It has only been since the introduction of the Classroom Assistant Training Program in 1978 that there has been any improvement in the organization of summer training courses and any basis for the selection of course content to be presented. Since the introduction of this program more attention has been directed to the improvement of individual's teaching skills and to the offering of courses which will help the classroom assistant in "becoming" a good assistant or teacher rather than simply providing the participants with a collection of recipes for set art ideas or seatwork exercises.

The present courses are presenting more information which will help assistants develop a better concept of what teaching is all about, how they will fit into the scheme of things and how they may become a good (hopefully bilingual)

teacher. In the past, assistants found that when the collection of art ideas accumulated on the course was exhausted the value of the summer course also came to an end.

This is not to suggest that the ultimate has been reached in classroom assistant training. One area which makes this very clear is the quality and consistency of in-service instruction that is being offered in the schools to classroom assistants by the classroom teacher.

This ranges from very good to non-existent. Who is to blame for the inconsistencies of this aspect of the training program? Should it be the teacher's job to organize, plan and offer instruction to the classroom assistant? This has been a responsibility that has slowly been foisted upon teachers who have received little or no guidance to provide a program and who by their own admission in many cases, do not feel qualified to provide one.

It is generally considered in the profession that a teacher's job, if done conscientiously, requires much stamina and mental exertion. Add to this responsibility the demands of the cross-cultural and bilingual situation and the teacher's job becomes even more unenviable to anyone other than the truly dedicated. To this heavy duty is then added the task of providing guidance, training and encouragement to the classroom assistant. The teacher's job then becomes more than a reasonable task. In spite of the obstacles, the supervising teachers' job is frequently being performed with dedication and concern. Classroom assistants are receiving help and training and are becoming a significant influence in the provision of education in many schools. On the other hand some supervising teachers often find themselves frustrated and lost in their attempts to provide adequate training. Some teachers state openly that they are not prepared to offer this training, some feel inadequate and others simply say and do nothing.

A similar range of involvement is seen on the part of principals. Some are actively involved in the training, evaluation and guidance of the classroom assistants, yet others feel that the less they are involved the better. In some cases limited professional or personal recognition is given to the assistant in the school.

At the regional level there may be feelings of helplessness when, with limited funds and personnel, the oft repeated requests for workshops and training sessions for both classroom assistants and teachers cannot be met.

The T.E.P. Graduate

Much has been said about the Northwest Territories Teacher Education Program. Few meetings of educators fail to discuss it to some degree or another, usually with a note of criticism. Many graduates are no longer part of the system (but this may also be said of southern systems and their trainees) and the level of ability of graduates ranges from extremely high to mediocre.

The Teacher Education Program should be assessed, perhaps, in a broader light as many former students, although not now involved in education directly, are making use of the skills gained and are taking advantage of the opportunities which teacher training has offered them and are now working in a variety of non-education positions in northern communities.

The real area of concern with respect to the Teacher Education Program may be concerning what teachers-in-training are being trained to do. Are they being trained to operate like northern imitations of southern teachers who, because of their different cultural background, do not have the same view of the world as the native teacher? Are they ready to suggest that a certain program, curriculum guide or method of

teaching or thinking is, in fact, in conflict with the young students' concepts of the world? These have been frequently repeated criticisms of the program, however, some graduates are beginning to ask such questions and are also suggesting ways of changing curricula to take these factors into consideration. Some northern teachers are gaining the ability and skills to provide a bilingual program in the schools, and as a result many schools are offering programs which are much more culturally and linguistically relevant than most past programs.

The White Bilingual Teacher

These individuals are so rare that it would be easy to overlook them in the plethora of unilingual instructors in the Northwest Territories. This would be unjust, however.

These teachers have shown by displaying the perseverance necesary to learn the language that they have a commitment to northern education. In many cases, because of prior professional training, their learning of the language has followed a more analytical and systematic approach than might be used by a casual learner. For this reason many have a knowledge of the language which, although not as colloquial as a native speaker's mastery, may be considered valuable in the preparation of materials and the planning of courses of study.

Many of these teachers are already involved in this type of work at the local or some other level, and thus have little time to broaden their scope of responsibilities. Most see the importance of the use of the native language in the northern teaching situation and are actively working to promote greater use of the mother tongue in the school program.

The White Unilingual Teacher

Having considered those teachers with the ability to teach in two languages, it would be incomplete if a look is not focussed at the unilingual teacher employed in the North. These are the individuals who received training in a southern institution in English, speak one language only and yet make up the greatest percentage of northern teachers. How do these individuals influence the system and the education which students receive?

These teachers can conveniently be divided into two groups - one, the more stable group of teachers whose members have five years plus in the system and the other, the more transient group, having four years or less in the system. The average length of service of northern teachers is approximately four years. However, this figure may be misleading as it is considerably influenced by 12% of N.W.T. teachers who have ten or more years in the North.

Approximately 65% of the qualified teachers in the Northwest Territories have four years or less of teaching experience in the North. Also, many of the long-term teachers are located in the larger western centres and when figures for the more isolated Baffin and Keewatin Regions are considered alone, over 75% of these Regions' teachers have less than five years N.W.T. experience and over 50% have less than two years teaching experience in the northern classroom. Many of these teachers are not only limited in northern experience but have very little or no southern experience either. (1980, unpublished statistics).

Looking at these figures it may be considered difficult to establish even a sound English language program of education. To hope to establish a bilingual program may be placing expectations too high at the present time.

Most of the newly hired teachers receive very little orientation to their role as facilitators within the system nor are they provided with any in-depth information concerning cross-cultural and bilingual education. Most orientation sessions are offered by fellow teachers and principals who, for various reasons, may not be that sure themselves of what is involved.

As the new teacher moves around his/her new school and observes the preparations for instruction being made by colleagues the similarity with the southern classroom must be noted. There may be a corner of the average classroom devoted to traditional games, tools and pictures of the Inuit way of life and/or there may be a partitioned off area where Inuktitut is offered. This corner will be amply decorated with syllabic charts and other Inuktitut teaching aids but frequently this corner is the limit of these materials.

In the classroom the teacher teaches much of the time in English, yet frequently offers a poor program of E.S.L. The teacher is concerned if students have not made at least some start in an English reading program by the beginning of the second year in school and workbooks in phonics and spelling form a large part of the language arts program.

Many teachers are anxious to receive guidance and when offered suggestions and advice accept it readily. This, however, is frequently not provided soon enough to assist in the teacher's early establishment of a good learning situation in the classroom.

Many of these new teachers are responsible for the supervision and training of a classroom assistant. Frequently, this can not be satisfactorily accomplished because the teacher is in too much of a learning situation him/herself. The teacher may feel afraid to approach the classroom

assistant with guidance or instruction and some may also be reluctant to seek the advice which the assistant would be ready and able to provide if just asked.

The teacher is not familiar with the types of bilingual programs which may be offered and in some cases may not have been informed exactly what is expected in terms of bilingual-bicultural programs. The teacher may be grasping for something which will point him/her in the right direction to receive guidance.

Programs

In spite of the drawbacks of many inexperienced staff, insufficient in-service training and frequent turnover in teaching staff, there are some positive notes.

Many of these new teachers to the northern classroom have remained more than the average four years. Many have seen the shortcomings of past language programs and have involved themselves in the preparation of course outlines and pupil materials more suited to the northern classroom. Many have realized that they may learn much from the classroom assistant with whom they work. They have learned that this individual may be able to provide many insights to northern education at the same time as being the recipient of professional help and guidance from the southern teacher.

Some schools have developed good programs and through the skills of capable classroom assistants and northern bilingual teachers, full programs in the mother tongue are being offered to native students for the first two or three years on a regular basis. Many schools are providing worthwhile programs of Inuktitut as a language to students throughout the elementary grades and a limited number of courses have been provided in some high schools also.

The Education Ordinance provides for the Local Education Authority to indicate the language of instruction to be used in kindergarten and the following two years of the school program.

"54.(1) The Local Education Authority shall prescribe the language of instruction to be used for kindergarten, where a kindergarten program is offered, and for the first two years of the school program following kindergarten."

Also

"55.(1) The Executive Member shall prescribe, after consultation with the Local Education Authority, the language of instruction for the years following completion of the first two years of the school program."

Some communities have taken advantage of Section 54.(1) and have, by motion recorded in the authority's minutes, stated their wishes with respect to language of instruction. Some have not formally stipulated their expectations but have informally conveyed their feelings to the school staff. Other groups have made no reference to what they expect. This may in some cases, be a result of the lack of knowledge which the L.E.A. has of the Ordinance and its powers under this legislation.

This range of situations has resulted in a similar range of program types. Some, as mentioned, on the initiative of teachers and community residents have developed worthwhile programs of instruction in the native language.

For example, programs exist in which kindergarten and the following one, two or three years of schooling are conducted in Inuktitut by native speakers of the language. This is followed in higher grades with instruction of the native

language and, in a few cases, some use of the native language as the medium of instruction.

In other schools, full instruction in Inuktitut is offered only in kindergarten with the use of the native language in the following years limited by the availability of qualified instructors. In other cases the native language in the school may be a subject of instruction only at varying levels.

In some Central Arctic communities the use of the aboriginal language has decreased to the point where it is no longer used to any extent by school-age children within the school and play environment. In such instances the decision has to be made by the community as to whether the re-vitalization of the aboriginal language is something which is desirable for cultural, economic or political grounds, or whether this is practical at all.

The degree to which the community's wishes are being followed and used as the basis for decisions about the provision of language programs is questionable. In many cases the wishes of the L.E.A. simply cannot be implemented because of insufficient native language speakers working in the school. In other cases, where adequate instructors may be available, programs have not been fully developed in all subject areas and insufficient materials may be available to support the program.

In many cases the Education Authority has not had full knowledge of what is involved when a decision respecting language of instruction is made or what models of bilingual education are available to them. Most groups when questioned concerning their wishes respond in favour of aboriginal language instruction. Some have stipulated actual time allocations for instruction of/in the aboriginal language but

this has been done more to ensure that the language is present in the school than to satisfy any particular program aim.

Some worthwhile programs of language instruction leading to literacy have been prepared and used in various schools. Some of this work was carried out before the department's programs (Inuktitut K-1 and 2-3) were developed. Many of the materials for these programs are still being used to advantage to supplement the approved programs. However, they are geared mainly towards language instruction rather than the instruction of other subjects in the aboriginal language. The department, as yet, has not prepared programs for instruction of other subjects in the aboriginal language.

The recent approach used by the Department of Education to provide for differentiated staffing has allowed for greater flexibility for L.E.A.'s to staff schools in a manner which will allow for more local control of programming within the school.

The concept of differentiated staffing* as proposed by the department has not been well explained nor is it well understood by many teachers. Some members of the professional staff see the implementation of this policy as an attack on their numbers and a contributor to lower standards.

Frequently teachers see educational programs as clearly divided into two components: "academic" programs for which the professional staff is responsible and which are seen by many as the 'important' part of education, and "local" or "cultural" programs as provided by locally hired instructors.

Many teachers do not see both of these components as integral parts of a single educational program and see the implementation of a differentiated staffing option as undermining education in an attempt to satisfy desires for more local control of education.

In some instances L.E.A.'s have opted to exchange teaching positions for dollars without a clear proposal having been considered or submitted. In other words, the differentiated staffing option has been taken simply because it is available and not as an attempt to facilitate the presentation of a particular educational program.

This may have resulted in some weak programs which have provided a justified basis for some teachers' criticisms.

However, where careful use has been made of the provisions of the Ordinance and of the differentiated staffing option, sound programs are being offered which form a bilingual program satisfying the expectations of community, L.E.A., and teaching staff.

*NOTE

The approach used by the Department of Education to provide for additional local instructors and programming to satisfy the requests for a more balanced bilingual program was discontinued in Spring, 1981. At time of writing the Minister of Education has indicated that a new recommendation to provide cultural and local instruction would be introduced.

Rationale for Bilingual Education

As outlined in previous sections, it is clear that in the Northwest Territories there exists a system of education which is not satisfying all of the objectives of a bilingual program. Some students are receiving instruction in one language only, community wishes have not been fully explored and/or implemented and students are not being fully prepared to "choose freely between different courses of action in such a manner that he or she can live a satisfying personal life while discharging his or her responsibilities as a participating member of a complex society". (N.W.T. Philosophy of Education).

Preparing students for this complex society is in itself a complex job, when consideration is given to the factors which influence the type of programs which should be provided in any community, and also the degree of success which a particular program may anticipate. How this preparation for education and life may best be provided is the subject of considerable discussion among linguists and educators involved in bi- or multilingual education. The extent of the literature is a clear indication that the answers are far from simple and many questions wait for additional research before conclusions may be reached.

The wide range of linguistic, cultural and political factors at play in the Northwest Territories also complicate the issue so that, although broad policies may be possible, programs which will suit the needs of pupils in one community may not be at all relevant in another. All of the available facts must be given due consideration in the development of a policy on bilingual education.

What is Bilingual Education?

A definition of bilingual education which has been developed to provide guidance in the preparation of policy and programs is as follows:

> "Bilingual education in the Northwest Territories is the use of two languages, one of which is English, the other of which is the appropriate local tongue, as mediums of instruction in a well organized program which is designed to lead to standards of proficiency expected of students by the community and the department."

This, however, is simply the first step. Bilingual education programs may be presented in a variety of manners and for various reasons.

The type of program, manner of application and the degree of involvement of the community itself will seriously influence the level of success which a program may hope to achieve in realizing its objectives.

Many countries have experienced the demand for bilingual programs, usually to accommodate a minority language group's overriding desire for competence in the national (or international) language. It is important that all factors be considered when planning a bilingual program but also,

> "It is important that the pressures of politics be distinguished from local linguistic needs. And, linguistic needs must not be confused with linguistic desires". (Mackey, 1970).

A lack of knowledge of the advantages and disadvantages of bilingual education, what the conditions are under which it will prove to be beneficial and the lack of a clear direction have resulted in much controversy and confusion. Even the term 'bilingual' education or schooling creates a very different picture depending upon the listener's background and particular pedogogical orientation. Widely differing educational environments have been classed as 'bilingual' and thus used as the basis for comparison and conclusions. In summarizing a review of twenty-four studies of bilingual programs around the world, Engle (1975) commented, "The twenty-four studies or reports summarized varied in every conceivable way, and most provided no substantial evidence as to which approach is better".

Looking beyond the school environment there are many other factors which may have bearing upon the results which may be forthcoming from any particular program.

> "The type of school program is only one of the variables influencing the cognitive, linguistic and academic development of a particular child, and that social and other factors may be equally, if not more, important". (Tucker and Cziko, 1978).

Even a definition of bilingual education, as evidenced by the one proposed above, must be fairly general in scope unless it is established for a very specific situation. In order to circumvent this difficulty, Mackey (1970) developed a typology of bilingual education in which he categorized (at least in theory) ninety-nine different basic patterns of bilingual schooling dependant upon the type of curriculum approach to be used and the linguistic context within which each would be implemented.

This only indicates the complexity of the situation but does not provide the answers which most wish to have to assist them in the development of programs.

Kjolseth (1972), on the other hand, chooses to identify two types of programs which he sees as the extremes on a continuum of possible types of bilingual programs. The determination of where a particular program sits with respect to these two extremes is determined by the set of options which have been selected as the basis for the structure of the program.

At the one extreme, the options most likely to result in ethnic language shift can be collected to identify the "assimilation model" and at the other extreme, the options which will tend to foster ethnic language maintenance, the "pluralistic model".

A basic comparison of these two types of programs is provided by Kjolseth and may be summarized in part as follows:

ASSIMILATION MODEL	PLURALISTIC MODEL
Program is initiated by the school without any community based advanced planning. Any school-community advisory group formed is without real powers to control the program. Community 'involvement' is encouraged and community control is avoided. The teacher is non-ethnic or else lives in a non-ethnic residential area and is generally inactive in ethnic community affairs. The program is 'one-way' with classes only for ethnic students.	Program is initiated by a group of ethnic and non-ethnic community leaders in consultation with teachers and school administrators who form a continuing committee to advise and control the program's operation. Teachers and aides are of local ethnic origin and receive special training to develop competence in using local ethnic varieties of language and culture. Teachers are effective bilingual and bicultural role models for their students. The program is 'two-way' with members of both ethnic and non-ethnic groups learning in their and the other's language.

It is interesting to note that Kjolseth suggested that, "'community involvement' is presently a popular euphemism which veils nonreciprocal rights between professionals who 'serve' and the laity who are 'served'. Lay members opine and recommend while professionals decide and execute." (Kjolseth, 1972).

To present a more practical framework within which individuals may consider the basic types of bilingual education and with which N.W.T. programs may be compared, Fishman (1976) has outlined four types which may be considered:

1. Transitional programs:

This type of program is exemplified by many of the bilingual programs offered in countries where an assimilation objective is held. Many of the U.S. programs offered under the provision of the Bilingual Education Act (Title VII) of 1968 are typical examples of this type of program. The ultimate aim of the program is to have all individuals able to operate in the majority language.

The rationale which underlies these U.S. and also Swedish programs, is that mother tongue programs are instituted to provide a bridge to the second language for a limited time period. During the transfer period, students receive most instruction in the mother tongue with second language instruction as an oral language initially. As soon as a sufficient degree of skill is developed in the second language, this is then used as the medium of instruction of the other subject areas and use of the mother tongue is gradually (or abruptly) discontinued.

The U.S. and Swedish programs see the use of the mother tongue simply as a means to minimize the linguistic and cultural mismatch between the home and school. The mother tongue instruction is used in anticipation that academic retardation will not occur as a result of this mismatch.

However, the succcess of some immersion programs in Canada has led to further research in this area. The successful French immersion programs have caused educators to question whether this linguistic mismatch is as major a factor as has been suggested.

The record of immersion programs for minority language students in many areas of the world, on the other hand, has not been outstanding in its success in the development of bilingual students.

Transitional bilingual programs contribute towards a language shift situation. No real concern is held for the long term maintenance of the first language or for fluency or literacy in both languages. It is suggested by some that since the use of the mother tongue in the early years overcomes the problem of linguistic mismatch for students, then the first language culture is supported. This argument is not valid in the long term.

Once the child had gained adequate second language skills for instruction, the lack of maintenance of the incompletely developed mother tongue and, in many instances, the pressure of the majority language in everyday life, results in a language shift to the majority language and a loss of the first language competence.

> "...transitional bilingual programs are frequently being implemented in Native American communities with the promise that they will help the community maintain its language and culture. This deception is as immoral as all of the other promises and treaties we have made with the Indians". (Saville-Troike, 1978).

2. Monoliterate Bilingualism

The other extreme to the transitional model just considered is that of programs resulting in full bilingualism. Fishman (1977) suggests additional intermediate levels of bilingualism between these two extremes. The one providing results closest to the transitional model is one which Fishman calls Monoliterate Bilingualism. In this type of program concern is shown for the ongoing maintenance of the first language but only at an oral level. Literacy is sought in the second language only. The mother tongue, as with the previous model, is used to provide an easier adjustment from the home environment to school and serves as a means to provide instruction in content areas before second language fluency and literacy is acquired. However, the lack of development of literacy skills in the first language prohibits the use of this language in further academic work, employment or any other endeavour requiring more than listening and speaking skills. This imbalance may very likely also contribute to a language shift in favour of the dominant language which the individual is forced to use for a wide range of activities because of the emphasis placed upon this language and the written word.

3. Biliterate Bilingualism

This type of bilingual education program is aimed at developing fluency and literacy in both languages. In some instances the degree of bilingualism may be seen as partial and limited to a certain extent in that the mother tongue may be used for certain situations or subjects related to the ethnic group and its cultural heritage only. For example, literacy skills may be developed in the mother tongue in relation to subjects such as the social sciences, literature and art but not in areas such as math or science.

This type of program has strengths in that it may result in a degree of cultural maintenance and may also provide cultural development in areas such as literature and art.

However, in spite of these positive aspects, this type of program may also convey the impression that the mother tongue is satisfactory for the consideration of cultural issues such as reading the literature of the culture (if present), but that the second or majority language is necessary for a consideration of things of importance in the "real" (outside) world. Thus the control of such areas is under the influence of only those who possess fluency and literacy skills in the majority language.

4. Full Bilingualism

Full bilingual programs aim at developing full oral and literacy skills in both languages. Each language would be used as a medium of instruction

in all areas (except the other language, of course). Initial instruction would be in the mother tongue with the second language usually being introduced sometime within the first three years of schooling.

Following the introduction of the new language through second language programs (in our case, E.S.L.), skills in listening and speaking would continue to be developed in the first language followed by literacy before any attempt would be made to develop literacy in the second language.

This type of program would encourage first language maintenance as well as the acquisition of full second language skills. This would appear to be the ideal. Students would develop into coordinate bilinguals capable of thinking and operating in either of two languages.

However, the development of a balanced bilingual community is not only a distant dream within the context of the Northwest Territories but is also somewhat idealistic. If, in fact, a community is a balanced bilingual community, then there may be little motivation to maintain two languages.

What in reality is more likely to occur is that the bilingual will use his/her ability in a diglossic manner. The use of each language will be situation specific and each language will be used in different circumstances. For example, within the Navajo speech community, a kind of diglossia is developing where English is used for functions concerned with the written language, e.g. school, court records, official newspapers; and the native

> language is used for most other functions, e.g. trading, law courts, local radio. (Spolsky, 1978).
>
> The exact nature of the diglossia within a particular speech community will be dependant upon many factors such as isolation of the speech community, economic influences and local or national language policies.

From these descriptions of various types of bilingual education programs, it can be seen that programs which would result in full or even partial bilingualism may not be as common in the northern classroom as might be hoped. Only where the mother tongue is used as the medium of instruction as well as being the subject of language study along with instruction of and in the second language also, can there be considered to be real bilingual education. The offering of basic instruction in the native language only, while all other subjects are offered in English would not imply that bilingual education is taking place.

Fishman emphasizes that this typology,

> "is not based on student and schedule characteristics such as proportion of students speaking a certain language and proportion of time devoted to each language", but, "it looks to the kinds of sociolinguistic development implied in the program objectives and suggests that various kinds of programs assume and lead to particular societal roles for the language taught."
> (Fishman, Lovas, 1972).

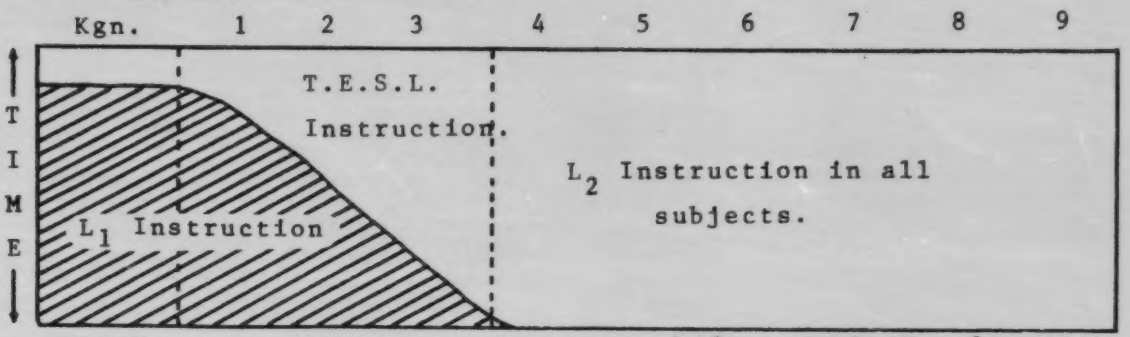
For this reason it is not possible to simply select one type of program and then institute it system wide. This would perhaps be administratively the simplest approach to take, but the differing language situations which exist at the

present time and the community attitudes to change must be considered. Thus a simplistic approach cannot be contemplated.

Also to be kept in mind is that a bilingual program cannot be offered in a cultural vacuum so, although not specifically stated, bilingual education must also include bicultural education.

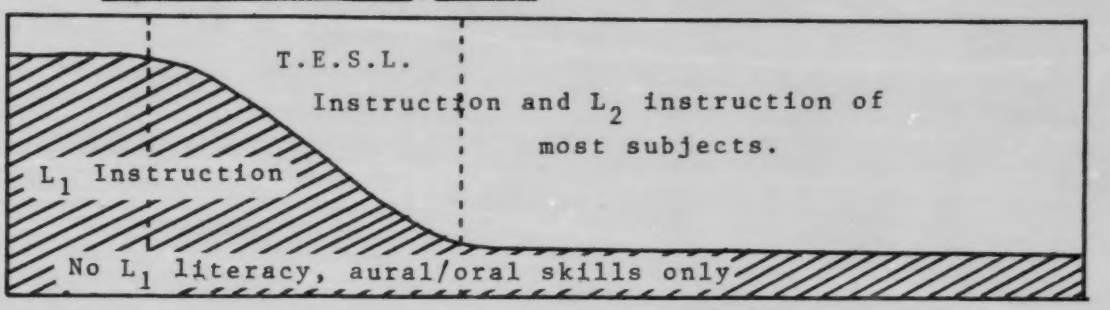
MODELS OF BILINGUAL EDUCATION

Type 1 - Transitional Program



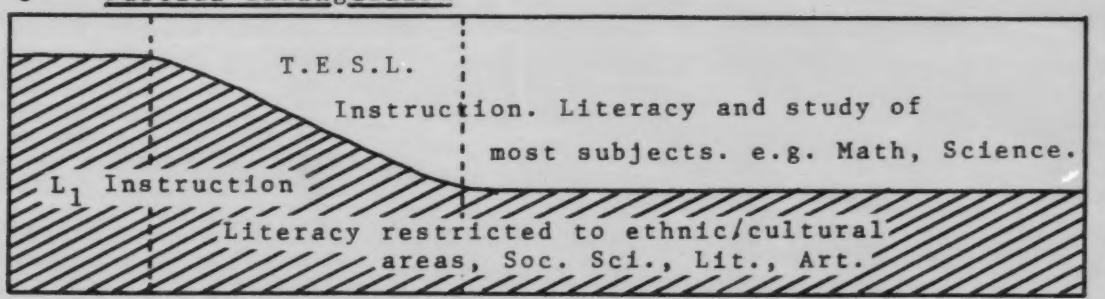
RESULT: Assimilation and language shift to majority language.

Type 2 - Monoliterate Bilingualism



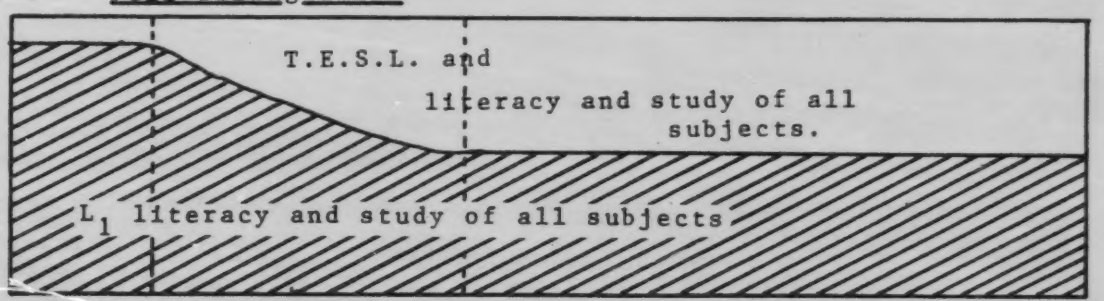
RESULT: Short term maintenance, long term language shift.

Type 3 - Partial Bilingualism


T.E.S.L. Instruction. Literacy and study of most subjects. e.g. Math, Science.
L_1 Instruction
Literacy restricted to ethnic/cultural areas, Soc. Sci., Lit., Art.

RESULT: Feeling of inadequacy of mother tongue and need for majority language to control technological and economic spheres.

Type 4 - Full Bilingualism



RESULT: Full bilingualism

First language (Inuktitut)

Second language (English)

Purposes of Bilingual Education

Each of the types of bilingual programs outlined in the previous sections contributes towards developing a particular sociolinguistic outcome ranging from the full acquistion of the majority language only to full bilingualism in both languages present. In the case of the former, the real intent may not be bilingualism at all. Bilingual education is offered for an interim period but only until proficiency in the majority language is achieved. Therefore, although the process is bilingual for a period the real intent is assimilation.

Many socio-cultural/economic/political factors come into play in the determination of the purpose for which bilingual education programs are offered. In some cases where program objectives have not been clearly identified, the type of program offered may, in fact, be at odds with the current situation and with what might realistically be planned and implemented.

For example, the school may be attempting to provide bilingual programs which favour language maintenance when the community is already well into the process of language shift. Such a situation would result in the efforts of the school being wasted because of the fact that the linguistic situation and community desires had not been accurately and carefully assessed.

A. Compensatory Programs

It is because of the perceived socio-linguistic status of native language speakers that many language programs are offered - as compensatory programs designed to "make up for" the students' linguistically disadvantaged position. The

offering of a few years of mother tongue instruction will not solve the problem. "Populations that would present almost insuperable problems to our schools and to all of our established institutions, even if they were monolingual English speakers, will not cease being such problems merely because they are offered a year or two of introductory education primarily in their own non-English mother tongue." (Fishman, 1976).

It is not a new idea that if supposedly disadvantaged groups are taught initially in the mother tongue, they will ultimately progress much more quickly when the majority language is turned to and the "important" aspects of education are considered. Most compensatory programs involve use of the transitional model of bilingual education.

B. Enrichment Programs

The success of French immersion programs in southern Canada illustrates the concept of providing bilingual education for enrichment purposes. It has long been considered that ability in more than one language is a skill to be desired and, although once limited to the rich or aristocratic elite, this is now sought by the comfortable middle class as a desirable skill for their children to acquire.

The key to these children's acquisition of the second language rests partially with their security in their existing linguistic and social position and their positive attitude towards accepting the second language. In fact, the acquisition of a second language is seen as one way to enhance their already favourable position.

C. Group Maintenance Programs

Neither enrichment nor compensatory programs, however, are entirely satisfactory for minority language groups. In the one case the acquisition of the majority language may not be perceived as 'enrichment' by the target group. In the other case little is offered to a group if the aim is to replace the language and culture by that of the majority group (usually the case in compensatory programs).

If, however, the bilingual program can aim at maintaining the home language while introducing the new, the recognition of the value of the culture and the language of the minority group does much to help the student relate more positively to the school and learning situation. The satisfaction and pride resulting should develop a better individual self concept and in turn a more healthy group attitude.

A group deprived of its language and culture has little to suport itself in the challenge of facing change and making the necessary adjustments required by today's world.

Local Involvement

Kjolseth's (1972) previously quoted statement that "community involvement" is presently a popular euphemism which veils non-reciprocal rights between professionals who 'serve' and the liaty who are 'served'", remains true today. In many instances a readiness to allow parents control of bilingual programs does not exist.

However, the concept of real community involvement is a recurring theme in the literature reporting successful programs.

Blanco (1979) suggests the following, among others, as reasons for a lack of community involvement.

> "-Parents may feel they do not have anything constructive to offer the education of their children.
> -The school may appear hostile or alien to parents with a limited command of English."

Added to these reasons may be the fact that in many cases, parents have not been informed adequately about their child's education and have not been invited to participate in discussions about programs.

This is understandable to a degree, in a system which has been so heavily dominated by southern English speaking teachers but is not excusable today when many parents have clearly indicated their concerns.

Fishman (1977) in answer to the question "Can the school 'Go it alone' for bilingual education?", states "Definitely not ... community interest and involvement on behalf of bilingual education is a must for a successful program."

In its "Handbook for Teachers in Bilingual Schools", (1975) the Australian Department of Education states, as a first step before starting a bilingual program, that one needs, "the agreement and support of the community for the introduction of a bilingual program."

In order that communinties may be in a position to offer this agreement and support for programs, information must be provided. Burnaby (1980) states in her recommendations concerning the situation in northern Ontario Indian schools that:

> "detailed information about Vernacular Transition and Maintenance Bilingual programs be circulated to communities ... over several years using all the agencies and media available."

When provided with the available information, parents will be in a better position to consider the use of language in their own community and develop a language policy if not already done. When this has been accomplished a clear statement is available to the teachers and program support staff to clarify their role in the language education of the students.

Burnaby also suggests the establishment of a demonstration bilingual program to serve as a demonstration of the program, a base for staff training and as a source of materials for other programs.

Several communities in the Northwest Territories have programs operating now which could be used more extensively as demonstration programs. Unfortunately, little has been done in the past with respect to documentation of the origin or the development of such programs. If this data were made available or researched and if more formal evaluation programs were set up these programs may yet be able to provide some relevant N.W.T. data and serve to guide other communities as Burnaby proposes for Ontario.

It is difficult to provide statistical evidence to prove that close involvement of the community will positively influence the success of bilingual programs and it would be foolish to suggest that community involvement guarantees success. However, the frequency with which the importance of local participation is reported and its coincidence with successful programs suggests that it would be foolhardy to consider implementing a bilingual program without parents support. Apart from all this it would not be justified on purely humanitarian grounds.

Even within the limited range of observations available from the Northwest Territories, it can be seen that the programs which are most successful in the area of developing good native language programs and the most positive school-community relationships, are those in communities where there has been an ongoing dialogue between school and community for a number of years.

Factors Influencing the Learning Process

The task of attempting to identify the type of program which will provide the most educationally worthwhile result is one which is complicated by much conflicting and confusing data.

During the past years the approach using L2 (English) immersion (submersion) type programs has not met with great success in the Northwest Territories. There is little hard data to support this assessment, however, those with experience in the system will recognize the validity of the statement. On the other hand immersion programs to teach French to English language students in many parts of southern Canada (French speaking as well as non- French speaking areas) have been very successful. Why the apparent contradiction in results?

In Modiano's study in the Chiapas Highlands (Modiano, 1968) Indian students who received initial instruction in Spanish only (L2 immersion), achieved lower scores in Spanish reading tests than other students who had been instructed in the mother tongue initially with Spanish later.

Again the program conflicts with the results of Canadian French (and other language) immersion program results where the students receiving immersion instruction in L2 were able to read in French and also in English as well as other English controls. In some studies English speaking students involved in French immersion programs made better progress in English in some areas than students involved in English only programs. (Cummins, 1979).

This may be summarized in the following chart:

LOCATION	L_1	L_2	SUCCESSFUL L_2 IMMERSION?
N.W.T.	INUKTITUT	ENGLISH	NO
MEXICO	NATIVE INDIAN LANGUAGE	SPANISH	NO
SOUTHERN CANADA	ENGLISH	FRENCH	YES

It would appear therefore, that the contradictory consequences of these similar programs in Mexico, southern Canada and the Northwest Territories are not determined solely on the type of program offered. The program is simply an intervening variable rather than being the casual variable as it is so often considered.

Other variables perhaps less easy to identify, are influencing the situation and the results obtained.

Modiano suggests that,

> "Three factors appear to play major roles: the nature of the reading act, attitudes toward reading in a second language, and teachers ability to communicate meaningfully with their students." (Modiano, 1968).

She elaborates by adding that "learning to read in a foreign language (when symbols may represent nonsense syllables learned by rote) is far more difficult and confusing than learning to read in one already known."

Paulston suggests in attempting to account for the contradictory results of the Canadian and Mexican programs that,

> "social class of the students was the one overruling factor. In every single study where monolingual children did as well as or better in L2 instruction than did native speakers, those children came from upper or middle class homes."
>
> (Paulston, quoted in Paulston, 1975)

Lambert suggests that the successful Canadian immersion programs for developing bilingualism tend to be "additive". That is, the child gains a second language with no cost to first language proficiency. On the other hand the less successful programs of many minority language groups tend to be "subtractive" in that the child's first language is replaced by the second language in the process of L2 acquisition.

It would appear then that if the conditions which would result in an "additive" bilingualism could be identified and subsequently, an encouraging language learning environment established, some success could possibly be predicted for the program presented.

Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa (1976) following studies of Finnish migrant workers in Sweden summarize general factors of minority achievement (or lack of achievement) in the following way:

In comparing poor achievers (possibly semilingual) with successful bilingual students, the following factors have been observed:

1. The bilingual children belong to a linguistic majority; the semilingual to a minority.

2. The mother tongue of the bilingual children has higher prestige or at least equal prestige.

3. Bilingual children (or their parents) have freely chosen between first and second language acquisition.

A combination of these and other factors appears to influence the success which can be expected from an immersion bilingual program. The actual results obtained depend upon which condition is present in respect to the following dichotomies:

	Ultimate linguistic status	
	Bilingualism	Semi-lingualism
Child's first language is	Majority	vs. Minority Language
Child's first language is	High prestige	vs. Low prestige Language
Instruction in the second language is	Voluntary	vs. Compulsory
Child's socio-economic status is	High	vs. Low

Similar type programs of second language instruction offered to groups of children at opposite ends of the above dichotomies will prove to be beneficial for one group but detrimental or of little value to the other. There will also be other factors which will influence any particular situation so the above four factors

should not be considered as an all encompassing set. The answers sought concerning bilingual education may involve many related and unrelated factors.

As can be seen from the foregoing there is a distinct chance that the higher class, majority-language child will frequently benefit more from immersion type bilingual education programs than his minority language lower socio-economic status cousin.

The factors of low socio-economic and minority language status, along with compulsory participation in a language program is typical of unsuccessful immersion programs provided for minority language groups including past programs for aboriginal Canadians.

Recent Scandanavian research suggests that failure to develop and maintain the mother tongue (which does not happen in "subtractive" programs) may result in a disruption of the child's cognitive development and ultimately lead to possible "semilingualism". (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976).

Care, however, must be employed in the use of this term. Researchers caution that the term "'semilingualism' ... should not be used as a strictly linguistic concept at all'." "Research which supports the existance of semilingualism ... measured cognitive aspects of the language, understanding of the meanings of abstract concepts, synonyms, etc. as well as vocabulary." (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976).

> "Intense teaching of the majority language has not produced encouraging results in minority language groups such as the Finns in Sweden, native Indian children in North American or minority francophone children in some parts of Canada." (Cummins, 1979)

Ekstrand suggests:

> "after a certain amount of L2 teaching, it doesn't matter how much more teaching you give some of the immigrant kids. They do not progress. It is as if they reach a cognitive limit." (Ekstrand, quoted in Cummins, 1979).

This state appears to have been produced in some students in past years in the North. The cognitive limit or plateau referred to by Ekstrand has also been mentioned by northern educators who have observed considerable numbers of students who appear to have reached a Grade 3 or 4 level in the majority language (English) and then have stalled in the program.

It is clear that the type of program presented must be designed to suit the needs of the subject group. Use of English submersion programs, it would appear from the present discussion and also from past results in the Northwest Territories, is not the route to follow.

Mother Tongue Instruction:

> "1. If English is the sole medium of instruction, the children are likely to become retarded in their school work to the extent to which they are deficient in English." (Gaarder, 1967)

To add support to the suggestion that a program should be based on use of the mother tongue initially, a further review of the literature is in order.

Gaarder, in the paper from which the foregoing quotation was taken, continues:

> "2. A strong mutually reinforced relationship between the home and school make it necessary that the mother tongue be used by some of the teachers and as a school language.

3. Language is the most important exteriorization of the self. Rejecting the mother tongue can be expected to affect seriously and adversely the child's concept of his parents, his home and of himself."

Several studies have produced results which point to the fact that learning in the second language may be facilitated if initial instruction is based on the child's mother tongue. (Cummins, 1979, Rosiere and Farella, 1976, Modiano, 1978).

At Rock Point Community School in 1960 the Navajo students ranked bottom in achievement compared to the other eight schools in the area. An intensive ESL program introduced in 1963 raised the level of achievement by 1965 to a level above that of the same group of schools but still two years behind national norms in reading and mathematics.

In 1967 a bilingual program at the first year level was instituted. Students still received ESL but also received reading readiness and cognitive activities in Navajo. Later, this program was gradually extended to cover kindergarten to grade 6.

At the lower levels a Navajo/English teaching team worked with the students, each working from his/her own part of the classroom. English reading was introduced only after initial literacy skills had been taught in Navajo.

From grade three to six the majority of instruction was carried out in English but with specialty classes in Navajo literacy or science being provided also.

In a comparison between students in this program and those taught via a TESL only program, little difference is seen in reading achievement at the third and fourth grade levels. However, at fifth and sixth grade levels there was seen to be a significant improvement in the bilingual program students of two grade level equivalent years over those in the control group. This placed the bilingual students at the level of national U.S. norms in reading.

It is interesting that the Rock Point students' rate of growth in English reading skills at these levels was about double that of students in other Indian Agency schools. The authors of the initial assessment of the program feel this result "represents the cumulative effects of initial literacy in Navajo and the promotion of cognitive development through instruction in the native language." (Rosier-Farella, 1976)

> "If Navajo children are to be given a quality education then their cognitive skills must be developed as thoroughly and in the same manner as those of Anglo children - in their mother tongue. A child's school years are too few to put off developing his cognitive skills until he is proficient enough in a foreign language to profit from the instruction." (Vorith and Rosier, 1978)

In a recent report of a longitudinal evaluation of minority language instruction for Finnish immigrant students in Sweden, it is shown that by the end of grade six the Finnish students who have been instructed mainly through Finnish, with Swedish taught as a second language from grade three, perform just as well as Finnish children in Finland on all Finnish language tests and as well in Swedish as Swedish children on measures of listening, reading and oral production skills. (Summarized in Skutnabb-Kangas Toukomaa, 1979)

In a minority francophone situation in Manitoba a large scale study showed that francophone students who received most (80%) of their instruction in their mother tongue (French) with only 20% in English did just as well in English as other students who received 80% of their instruction in English.

In an often quoted study, Modiano (1968) reported that Mexican Indian children in the Chiapas Highlands who were taught in the mother tongue and introduced to Spanish later performed significantly higher in Spanish reading skills than had others who had received all of their instruction in Spanish.

In a paper which supports the use of the mother tongue and attempts to explain why opposite strategies appear to be most beneficial in minority and majority bilingual learning situations, Cummins (1978) proposed a hypothesis to explain the apparent contraditions.

It has been outlined here that immersion programs have been extremely successful for majority language students but not so for minority groups. Minority groups appear, from much of the research available, to achieve greater success if provided with instruction in the vernacular.

Cummins' hypothesis of developmental interdependence which is supported by programs previously referred to suggests that:

> "The development of skills in a second language is a function of skills already developed in the first language". (Cummins, 1978)

If the first language is not adequately developed or supported by the environment within and outside the school, the intensive study of a second language will

impede the continued development of the first, and this, in turn, will limit the full development of the second. If on the other hand, the first language is highly developed before introduction of the second language an intensive exposure to the second language will result in a high level of bilingualism.

The initial high level of first language competency held by the subjects of many immersion programs designed for middle class anglophone children supports the development of high levels of second language competence. A neglect of this well developed first language in the school program does not appear to jeopardize it and, in fact, in some studies total immersion students performed significantly better in first language with less first language instruction than other students in control groups.

However, in the minority language situation, because of an unstimulating first language environment, the level of these skills has not reached the same level or plateau of development which would ensure the maintenance of the first language skills when the second language is encountered.

What is meant by "unstimulating first language environment" should perhaps be clarified. Cummins suggests that "parents may continue to speak the first language to each other but attempt to use the second language with their children thereby exposing them to a low level of L1 stimulation and faulty models".

Also, "a large majority of minority language children ... have perfectly fluent L1 speaking skills when they start school. However, ... their L1 experiences may not have emphasized functions of language which are

important for educational success ... his 'cognitive competence' in L1 may be relatively poorly developed." (Cummins, 1978).

This hypothesis provides some ideas as to why majority group and minority group immersion programs have produced very different results. It also adds strength to the widely accepted view today that initial education for minority language groups should be presented in the mother tongue. The better the first language can be developed the more complete will be the full cognitive development of the child. This in turn permits a more rapid transfer of language skills to the second language and the acquisition of a high level of bilingualism.

Reports of various vernacular programs indicate an additional factor to support the use of mother tongue instruction. Although difficult to substantiate with hard facts, several researchers have suggested that the use of the mother tongue fosters feelings of security, of self worth and a positive feeling towards the first language and culture. Reports of the Navajo bilingual program at Rock Point (Vorih and Rosier) suggests that Navajo children involved in the bilingual program "seemed more open and more involved in the school" and that "behavior of the children seems to reflect a positive self image".

Similar results were reported following the introduction of instruction in the vernacular in aboriginal schools in Northern Australia. "The attitude of the community is changing from that of the school being a 'necessary evil' to one that the school is, apart from a place for education of their children, a place of real importance for the whole community". (Report, 1973). Gudschinsky reports similar positive feelings towards programs in

pre-war Vietnam which offered some instruction to children in their own highland language and resulted "in community enthusiasm for the program and a more favourable attitude toward the schools on the part of the monolingual parents." (Gudschinsky, 1971).

It is most important that the child's self confidence and attitude be positively supported and not undermined. This can be better accomplished if the child is not placed in the stressfull situation of being instructed in a language he/she does not understand and when the validity of the child's own language and culture is brought into question. If the school environment is seen as supportive and understanding of the culture and sympathetic to the linguistic expectations of the parents and community much is accomplished in setting the scene for effective bilingual programs.

Optimum Age for Language Acquisition

The former 'common sense' belief that the earlier that the second language is started the better, has been called into question by some researchers (Cummins, 1980; Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976; Ervin-Tripp, 1974). It was felt by many that the earlier the introduction of the second language was made, the greater would be the level of language proficiency resulting.

The issue of exactly what constitutes language proficiency has been hotly debated in recent years. Some researchers suggest that language proficiency involves many factors. Hernandez-Chavez et al (1978) suggests that these can be grouped within three classifications: (i) linguistic, including phonology, syntax, semantics and lexicon; (ii) modality including comprehension, production (oral) reading and writing; and (iii) socio-

linguistic performance involving the areas of style, function, variety and domain. The consideration of these factors gives rise to a matrix of proficiencies, each of which is independently measurable. (Hernandez-Chavez, 1978, Burt & Dulay, 1978).

The opposite view of this is proposed by Oller (1978) who suggests that there is a global language proficiency factor which has not yet been divided into components such as suggested above. This global language proficiency factor is strongly related to IQ and to other aspects of academic achievement. Oller suggests "that language proficiency may be the essence of human intelligence at the deepest level". (Oller, 1978).

Cummins introduces the expression "cognitive/academic language proficiency" (CALP) which he prefers and which he defines "as those aspects of language proficiency which are closely related to the development of literacy skills in L1 and L2". (Cummins, 1978). This does not necessarily include basic interpersonal communication skills in L1 such as accent, oral fluency, and sociolinguistic competence as Oller would.

Cummins also suggests:

> "that the cognitive/academic aspects of L1 and L2 are interdependent and that the development of proficiency in L2 is partially a function of the level of L1 proficiency at the time when intensive exposure to L2 is begun". (Cummins, 1979).

He also suggests that because L1 and L2 CALP are manifestations of the same underlying dimension, previous learning of literacy-related functions of language (in L1) will predict future learning of these functions (in L2). Older learners with better developed

cognitive/academic language proficiency therefore will acquire L2 skills more rapidly than younger learners.

This then leads to the question of what is meant by "older" and "younger" learners. It appears from some research that children who are exposed to a study of the second language at about the age of nine or ten years make much more rapid progress in the acquisition of language skills than do younger children.

In Swedish studies it is concluded that "those who moved to the receiving country around the age of ten are in the best position to learn the foreign language, because the development of their mother tongue has had time to stabilize. The most detrimental age to move to a new linguistic environment from the point of view of linguistic development is 6 - 8." (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976).

In another study concerning immigrant children, this in Toronto, Ramsey and Wright (in Cummins 1980) obtained a conflicting answer to their questions. They reported that students who arrived in Canada at the age of 6 - 7 suffered no academic hardships on measures of English language skills but for those who arrived at older ages there was a clear negative relationship between the age of arrivan and performance.

However, Cummins shows through reanalysis of this data that although older learners have been behind grade norms in comparison to younger learners, the older learners learned more in absolute terms and showed cognitive/academic proficiency in the second language more rapidly than the younger learners. He suggests that this is because of their better developed first language CALP (cognitive/academic language proficiency).

It has already been shown through the mother tongue programs already referred to that the child's ability to learn the second language is not lessened by involvement in the first language programs. The skills gained in the first language, or the CALP as Cummins refers to it, promote proficiency in both languages.

Some would see this pointing to the approach of not introducing the second language to students until the age of about ten years. It is suggested that introduction of the second language leading to full bilingualism, if not facilitated at some time before the age of six or seven, or, in Piaget's terms, before the stage of concrete operational thought, should be left until after the first three or so years in a formal schcol situation. At this time, approaching the stage of formal operations, the use of intensive second language instruction will more likely result in satisfactory levels of bilingualism without loss of the first language and without serious interference preventing the satisfactory acquisition of the second language.

Care must be taken however, in placing too much weight on results which are obtained in conditions very different from those existing in the Northwest Territories. There are dangers in using the results from the European situation, or in fact from many of the sources of information from around the world.

> "...the formation of a general theory of B.E. in no way implies that the results of any one B.E. program evaluation can be generalized to a program in another setting."
>
> "This is no reason to believe, however, that we cannot have an explanatory, useful theory of B.E. based on the results of program evaluations."
>
> (Tucker and Cziko, 1978).

There are certain basic principles which appear to hold true when first and second language instruction is considered for minority groups. The difficulty lies in knowing how these principles will or will not be influenced by differing social, political and economic conditions and demands.

Cultural Factors

Unfortunately, at the present time it is difficult to know how directly many of the studies relate to the conditions existing in the N.W.T.

> "At this stage we do not have sufficient data to make categorical statements regarding cognitive and linguistic development of native (Inuit) children". (Watters, 1980).

Many conditions which influence the level of both first and second language ability at the beginning of formal schooling are based on cultural factors about which many teachers have very little knowledge. The background of the native student in the northern classroom and that of the southern student whom many teachers have been trained to teach (and are experienced in teaching), may be very different.

Factors such as the child's role within the family organization, the function of language in learning and teaching, availability of books and other stimulii and their types, parental expectations, student's aggressiveness or lack thereof, and many others are all of consequence, yet are factors of which the teacher may or may not be aware.

Even within the context of the North American middle class culture the educational system fosters attitudes,

values and expectations which it in turn transmits to the students within the system. That some members of the society find it difficult to fit into this mold or sub-culture within society is clear if one considers the number of failures, drop-outs and non-achievers whose lack of success is based on more than a limited academic ability.

It is not surprising then that students faced with a system and teachers both of which reflect cultural values foreign to the student body, have difficulty in coping with the system satisfactorily.

For example, because a culture expects only limited verbal interaction between adults and small children, or because an aggressive competitiveness is not encouraged in the home, a child may appear to be shy, withdrawn or unresponsive in the classroom. As a result the child may be considered a candidate for special or remedial programs if the teacher is not able to make a perceptive and informed assessment.

The knowledge of capable native teachers or classroom assistants should contribute to the understanding of such cultural characteristics and thus help to ensure that students are not handicapped by their cultural background.

More in-depth orientation sessions for new teachers should also make teachers more aware of the cultural subtleties which they may unwittingly overlook.

E.S.L./Language Programs

Many teachers have difficulty assessing the child's ability in either English or the native language on entry to school. In a study of Northern Ontario native schools, Burnaby (1980) found that in some cases where teachers were faced with students who had some English, they over-estimated the students' ability in English. Also, "most teachers felt that their skills in language teaching needed improvement. The exception was teachers who do not perceive students' problems as E.S.L. problems, but as special education problems. The Core Team believes that if such teachers knew more about E.S.L., they might evaluate student problems differently, at least in part".

With respect to the situation in the Northwest Territories, it is suggested that:

> "because of insufficient T.E.S.L. training, teachers often have a blind spot as regards second language teaching so that,
>
> - they tend to take the partial fluency of many settlement children as evidence that they know English well enough to be taught just like the kids back home (but slower).
>
> - as a result; second language situations are often handled as problems in remedial reading, special education (in the narrow sense) and so on." (Mallon, 1980)

In many classes only minimal attention is paid to E.S.L. programs. Many teachers may have formal E.S.L. or Oral English slotted into their timetable but may, in fact, do little which could be considered a worthwhile E.S.L. program. This is frequently due to the fact that teachers are unfamiliar with E.S.L. methodology and how to establish such programs.

> "Over and over again, the literature has stressed the importance of an effective program in English as a second language for children who are non-English speaking. There appears to be almost universal concensus on this point. Yet the same literature points up the generally inadequate preparation of most teachers in this area." (Parker, 1975).

Many new teaching graduates are encouraged to better their chances at gaining employment in the North by taking summer courses in E.S.L. While certainly being beneficial for any teacher considering working in a bilingual situation, much more than a single course is required to develop capable and experienced E.S.L. teachers. Little assistance has been provided within the N.W.T. to develop or improve teachers' skills in this area.

It is also true that many teachers of students above the primary levels operate under the assumption that E.S.L. is for the first year or so of the second language program, and that following this a regular language arts program may be offered. The inability of students to handle the assigned reading program and their limited ability in creative writing is seen as a child-centred rather than program centred problem.

If these difficulties occur in English-as-a-second-language programs being implemented by qualified

teachers it is quite likely that similar problems will occur within the native language program.

Many of the teachers of the classes being instructed in the mother tongue are classroom assistants who have little experience and/or training in assessment. Programs of instruction of the native language, which in some schools are the only mother tongue programs provided, are vulnerable to being harmed, or being less value than they might be because students are offered these programs without the necessary level of readiness.

Training can be offered to bilingual teachers and classroom assistants, to enable them to better assess students' native language proficiency on entry to school. This evaluation, difficult if not impossible for the unilingual English speaking teacher, would do much to ensure that the child's strengths and weaknesses are clearly identified at the beginning of the school career. This should result in the child being offered readiness and ongoing programs which are aimed to satisfy his/her particular needs.

Basic to this type of assessment is the capable bilingual teacher.

A frequently recurring difficulty is the assessment of students with some ability in both languages. It may be difficult to assess which is the dominant language and it may be beyond the school's ability to provide full programs in both languages. An incorrect assessment of such students could be disastrous for the individual.

In the N.W.T. formal tests are not used and students needs are determined in a fairly subjective manner by the teacher concerned. In many cases this assessment is

based on the oral fluency which the child displays. This may not be a very reliable predictor. There may be individual differences in the ways in which speakers display their oral fluency. In some cases the demonstrated fluency may not be strongly related to cognitive or academic performance.

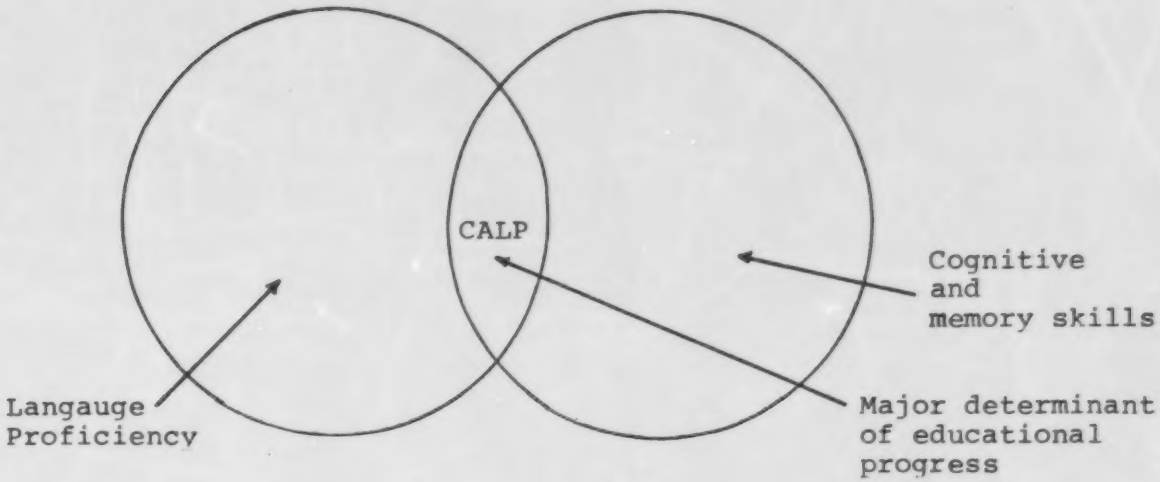
Only too frequently, a child's expected performance in school is based on nothing more than the initial level of oral fluency. Teachers then wonder why the student who apparently "speaks so well" has considerable difficulty in academic areas.

> "Inexperienced teachers ... tend to assume that a child who can carry on a passable social conversation can also understand what is being said in the classroom. Closer examination frequently reveals that the child has a very small supply of phrases in common use around the daily routines of school, play, store, etc., and an additional supply of nouns ... The teacher, misjudging the degree to which he is being understood, may spread his best efforts in vain and then decide that his students are dumb or just not interested in learning ..." (Knackman, 1974, quoted in Parker, 1975).

Cummins suggests that there is a distinction between the basic interpersonal communicative skills (BICS) and cognitive/academic language performance (CALP).

> "Individual differences in CALP are strongly related to academic progress whereas individual differences in BICS are largely unrelated to academic progress." (Cummins, 1980).

RELATIONSHIP OF CALP TO LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY, COGNITIVE AND MEMORY SKILLS AND EDUCATIONAL PROGRESS.



From this information it would therefore appear that the subjective assessment of a child's oral fluency in one or more languages is not a completely reliable indicator when considering the child's underlying cognitive language ability and future academic performance.

The Teacher

There are few references in the literature relating to the teacher in the bilingual-bicultural environment in spite of the fact that ethnicity and training may be significant factors in influencing the success of a bilingual program. This is suggested by Engle (1975) in summarizing the comments of several experts in this field:

> "Teacher characteristics (presuming that the teacher is from the same community or group as the children):
>
> a. the teacher can better relate to the community. (Modiano, 1973).

b. the children and teacher can communicate from the initial days onward. (Modiano, 1973).

c. the teacher may understand the learning styles of the children, and how they are different from those needed in the school setting (though may not be able to do anything about it). (Philips, 1970, John, 1973).

d. teacher may be seen as more trustworthy. (Modiano, 1973).

e. teacher may not have negative stereotypes about the children and their language. (Gumperez and Hernandez-Chavez, 1972).

f. children can see one additional occupation (teacher) which they might qualify for with their schooling and thus have higher life expectations. (Engle, 1975).

Usually the ethnicity of the teacher within a particular situation is a variable over which the researcher has little, if any, control. In Modiano's study in the Chiapas Highlands (Modiano, 1968), it happened that teachers of the successful vernacular programs were all native whereas most teachers in the Spanish medium classes were not. Modiano felt that the teachers' ability to communicate meaningfully with their students played a major role in the students academic achievement. The better schooled but Spanish speaking teachers had greater difficulty in communicating with their students than the native speaking teachers.

"...studies show that a common ethnic background between teachers and pupils gives a warmer learning atmosphere and better results than a situation in which minority group children are taught by a teacher from the majority." (Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa, 1976).

These suggestions are not conclusive, of course, because teacher ethnicity had not been isolated in the study. However, it is interesting to speculate on the degree of influence which the native language speaking teacher had.

In "Recommendations for Language Policy in Indian Education" (Modiano, Leap & Troike, 1973), recommendation #6.1 states:

> "It should be mandatory for teachers or supervisory personnel involved in bilingual, kindergarten or Head Start programs to be fluent in the Indian language being used for instruction."

The limited number of bilingual teachers in the Northwest Territories at the present time make the implementation of a similar proposal impossible, however, this should not deter efforts to continue and extend training for bilingual teacher candidates. It is impossible to present a program including education in the vernacular without capable bilingual teachers.

During past years classroom assistants have played a major part in the development and presentation of native language programs. This has been done in spite of lack of training in education, curriculum development skills or in linguistics. As a result of this, it must be recognized that many of these programs have been stopgap measures to provide needed instruction. In some cases this may not have resulted in sound language programs and students may not have made the progress which should have been achieved.

In spite of the limitations of the untrained classroom assistant there are significant positive values in the participation of native language speaking assistants in the classroom as outlined in Engle's summary above.

A similar recognition of the native teacher is made in recommendations concerning bilingual education offered to aboriginal students in Northern Australia.

> "At present the special strengths of the aboriginal member of the teaching team lie in:
>
> a. their competency, fluency and native accent in their aboriginal language;
>
> b. the emotional security they provide to the children in the classroom;
>
> c. their role as mediator between the Aboriginal culture and the non-Aboriginal culture and,
>
> d. their completion of some teacher training."
>
> (Watts, McGrath, Tandy, 1973).

The extent of the teacher training referred to for Aboriginal teachers extended from on-the-job experience only to completion of a one year training program. There is a wide range of pedagogical competence. This is also true of the situation in the Northwest Territories.

The fact that the native teachers' (or assistants') qualities are recognized as being of positive influence in the classroom then adds tremendously to the importance of ensuring that the services of members of the local community are part of the teaching team.

The more capable assistants and bilingual native teachers who can become involved in the schools the better. The understanding of the student's needs and the acceptance of the native teacher by the community are factors which will prove to be major contributors to the success of bilingual school programs.

The training to be provided then can be designed to take advantage of the cultural and linguistic skills held by the individuals as well as provide instruction in culturally sensitive teaching methodology.

Wyatt comments that,

"only native teachers have the background necesary to be effective cultural brokers. - - - student teachers' own experiences of growing up in a native community provide them with an intimate familiarity with the context and style of the community life.

Native teacher training programs must take cognizance of the unique and valuable knowledge which native teachers bring to the classroom by virtue of their experiences. Recognition of these experiences is crucial if such programs are to do more than train teachers who just happen to be native." (Wyatt, 1978/79)

In summarizing the points made in the foregoing report, it might be most easily done at this point by making two comments:

(1) There is a wealth of literature supporting the use of the mother tongue in school for minority language children.

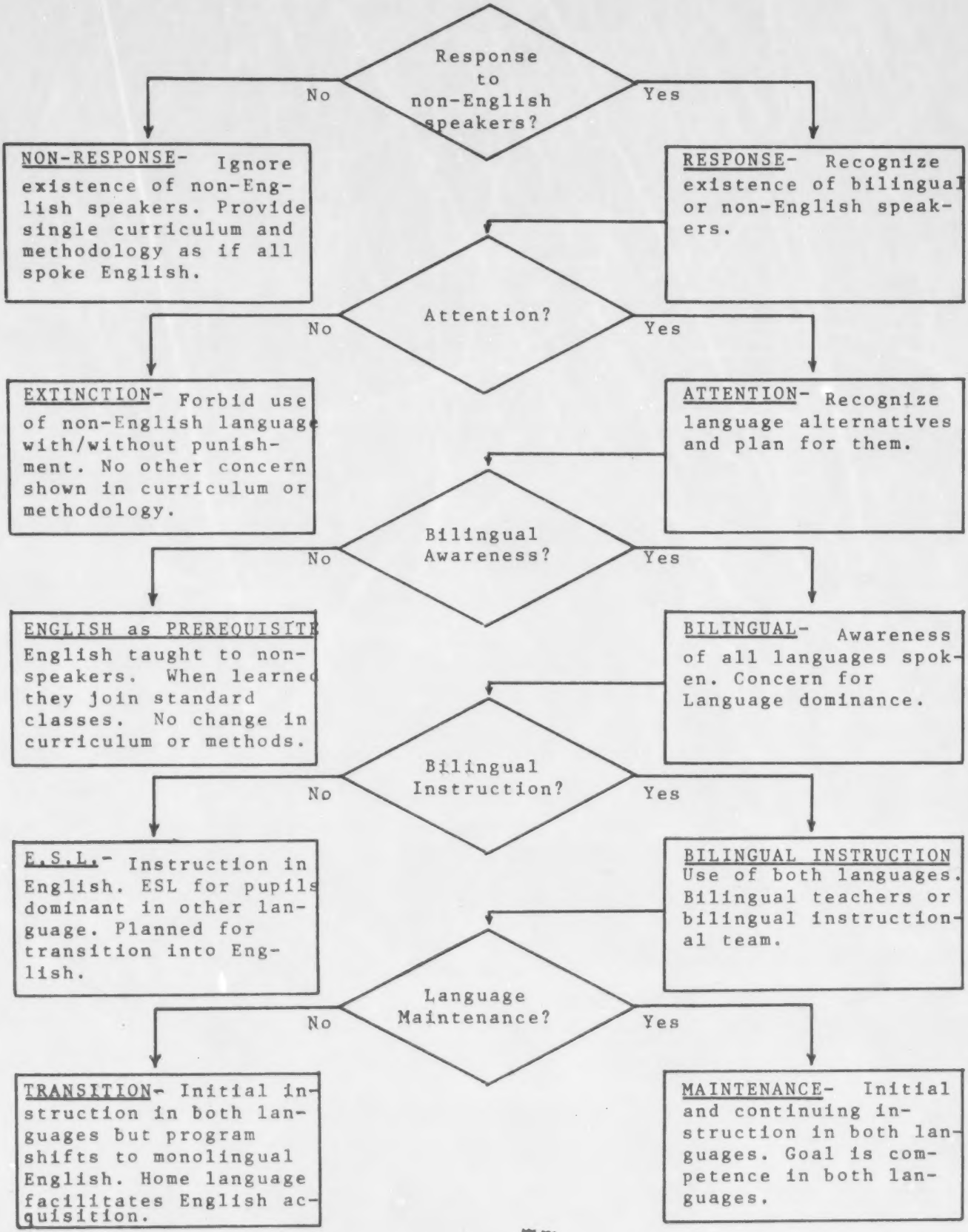
(2) This statement by Skutnabb-Kangas and Toukomaa is worth quoting:

> "Among the countries which claim to provide equality of educational opportunity, few have taken any action to democratize elementary education, it seems. (Perrenoud, 1974). In spite of declarations of intent the reforms necessary to neutralize the effects of the social inequalities of schooling are not being

carried out. Reform, e.g., to prevent semi-lingualism, is often opposed, and its opponents then appeal to the lack of empirical research data. Before action is taken, experiment and research is, for instance, often demanded into matters on which experimentation would be ethically condemned or is humanly impossible. The results of pedogogical measures or the lack of them may not be seen for many years, even decades. The fact that decisions about reform are put off until such "reliable" data is available is one proof of basic unwillingness for reform, i.e. the lack of political will.

If a complete 'lost generation' of semi-lingual children is not to emerge any more, we do not have time to wait for the findings of new research and experiment. It is pedagogically wise to give migrant children as much teaching of and in the mother tongue as possible, even though we have not yet thoroughly studied the phenomenon of semi-lingualism. Such teaching will certainly do no harm, but not giving it may prove fatal." (Skutnabb-Kangas & Toukomaa, 1976).

ALTERNATIVES IN BILINGUAL EDUCATION


Response to non-English speakers?
No
Yes
NON-RESPONSE- Ignore existence of non-English speakers. Provide single curriculum and methodology as if all spoke English.
RESPONSE- Recognize existence of bilingual or non-English speakers.
Attention?
No
Yes
EXTINCTION- Forbid use of non-English language with/without punishment. No other concern shown in curriculum or methodology.
ATTENTION- Recognize language alternatives and plan for them.
Bilingual Awareness?
No
Yes
ENGLISH as PREREQUISITE English taught to non-speakers. When learned they join standard classes. No change in curriculum or methods.
BILINGUAL- Awareness of all languages spoken. Concern for Language dominance.
Bilingual Instruction?
No
Yes
E.S.L.- Instruction in English. ESL for pupils dominant in other language. Planned for transition into English.
BILINGUAL INSTRUCTION Use of both languages. Bilingual teachers or bilingual instructional team.
Language Maintenance?
No
Yes
TRANSITION- Initial instruction in both languages but program shifts to monolingual English. Home language facilitates English acquisition.
MAINTENANCE- Initial and continuing instruction in both languages. Goal is competence in both languages.

(Goodman, 1979)

RECOMMENDATIONS

Preliminary Comments

In attempting to draw together the information obtained from a wide range of sources - research reports, journal articles, personal communications and observations during visits to Eastern Arctic communities and schools - and meld this with personal prior experiences, it appears that there are several general comments which should be made.

1. There remain many unresolved questions in the area of bilingual education.

2. There is clear need for the Department of Education to establish a policy with respect to bilingual education so that directions for this crucial area may be adequately determined and the necessary support provided.

3. There is urgent need for studies to be carried out in the Northwest Territories to:

   i. review present and future programs and conduct appropriate evaluation,

   ii. investigate the wide range of social, cultural and psychological factors which have a bearing on the native student in the northern classroom.

4. There is a politically and socially unavoidable and educationally sound need for seeking and encouraging local involvement and control of school programs.

A review of much of the literature is well summarized by Dr. Douglas Parker in his report on "Language Policy and Indian Education" in Alberta.

To quote Dr. Parker:

> "Accepting the caveat that applies to all studies in bilingual education, namely, that results from a given community may be applied only with great caution to the situation in another, I am forced to conclude that there may be greater long-term advantages in following the first approach - native language education - than by following the second (a program in English).
>
> This opinion is subject ... to the restrictions ... to do with the child's language dominance and with the linguistic reality of the community in which he lives.
>
> I am persuaded to come to this opinion as much by the research which stresses the marked improvement in the child's self concept and in the school's relationship with the community as by the research that points to improved reading skills and easier transfer to English by beginning in the vernacular."

He also suggests that:

> "... the linguistic situation in the community must be assessed to determine whether a Maintenance or Transfer Model most closely fits the wishes of the people and the reality of the situation. Such an assessment on a community-by-community basis is necessary in view of the stress in the literature that there are no all-encompassing solutions. The implications of such decisions need to be explained carefully to the community involved, since the effects of such changes may be quite far reaching."

It is suggested that the above opinion given with respect to Alberta Indian education is also valid for the situation in the Northwest Territories.

In looking at more specific recommendations, the following areas are considered:

1. Language Policy

The following is proposed as the policy concerning the provision of bilingual programs (native language/English).

Policy: Bilingual Education

It is the policy of the Department of Education in carrying out its responsibilities under Sections 54 - 56 of the Education Ordinance, that it will advise each community of the language options open to it and their implications and will then seek their informed decision as far as language policy in that community is concerned.

Vernacular Instruction

It is recognized that past programs of English immersion (submersion) have not been successful. There is strong evidence that some form of bilingual education not only maintains the home language and culture, but also facilitates the future acquisition of the second language.

The use of the mother tongue to facilitate initial instruction avoids forcing students to be delayed academically while learning the second language. It also indicates to both parents and students that the language is of importance and is so seen by the school. This reinforces feelings of pride in the child's heritage and culture and provides a more positive environment in which the child may learn. The use of the native language as selected by the community can also result in a higher level of continued involvement in the school by members of the community and a higher regard by them for the school and programs.

It is important that the type of bilingual program established be one which will match the expectations of members of the community. A consideration of all the factors involved (linguistic, social, cultural, economic, political) must be undertaken by both community members and educators familiar with the models of bilingual education in order to determine what programs could be considered. The community must be involved in this decision making process and must understand the reasons for it if successful programs are to result.

It is also necessary that the objectives stated in the Philosophy of Education, the requirements of the Education Ordinance and the realities of the present situation be recognized so that where students enter school with a non-English language as the dominant language, instruction in English will be provided at some stage in their education.

When children enter school with the native language being dominant, literacy skills should be developed in the native language first. Research suggests that sound development of fluency and literacy skills in the first language supports the later development of second language literacy.

In some cases where children have ability in both the native language and English, careful investigation should be carried out before the final decision concerning initial literacy instruction is made.

A community may not want bilingual programs for more than a means of transition to English programs and long term maintenance may not appear practical in view of local conditions, however, where the community wishes to maintain the language, programs should be developed and provided to ensure the level of bilingual ability desired.

Community Involvement

Involvement of the community should be considered as fundamental to the planning and implementation of any bilingual program.

A common feature of successful bilingual education programs is the participation of the local community in the development, implementation and evaluation of programs presented. This must be more than a casual involvement. Active decision making and control of the program must be exercised if the program is to receive the full support of the community which is necessary for success. The school cannot offer a bilingual program on its own as has been attempted in some instances in the past.

It is imperative that communities have the opportunity to become familiar with the possibilities and options available in bilingual education programs. It is natural that a minority language group will want to protect its language. However, it is not necessarily sound to base decisions about language programs on emotional or "gut" feelings only. Communities must consider factors such as the availability of bilingual teachers and program materials, the existing linguistic situation and the linguistic aspirations of the communuity before making final decisions. Educational factors and ways in which the community can support bilingual programs must also be considered. These are decisions which non-native educators cannot make but for which they may be able to provide information and guidance.

To provide a sound understanding of the factors involved an information program must be offered to communities. This must not be a "one time only" effort but will need to be a continuing program presented over a two or three year period.

The information program to communities could be conveyed in the form of oral presentations, question and answer forums, video tape and/or slide presentations of typical programs and comparative studies of various programs. These presentations must be in layman's terms and will be most effective if combined with actual involvement of local personnel in school programs.

Local groups and individuals may become involved in school programming through participation in classroom observation visits, teacher and program development workshops and by serving as resource personnel at workshops and in the classroom.

The provision of the Education Ordinance (Section 21(1)k) requiring Education Societies to be involved in the appointment of principals, teachers and other teaching personnel suggests that a good knowledge of school programs and organization be possessed by the Society if sound decisions are to be made.

The greater the degree of involvement of community members in the school and programs, then the greater will be the degree of understanding of and support for the program selected and presented.

2. Teacher Training Program

(i) Candidates for teacher training in the Eastern Arctic should be fluent and literate in Inuktitut.

The rationale for a bilingual program is based on the ability to provide sound instruction of and in the native language. Without skilled instructors the provision of native language programs and preparation of program materials is impossible.

A number of classroom assistants involved in the system at present have many of the skills required of a teacher in a bilingual program. These individuals are prime candidates for the teacher education program and their skills and interests as teachers are essential if a good program is to be provided. There are also other potential candidates whose present participation as language instructors in the school may be enriched and formalized by their participation in a teacher training program which places emphasis on the preparation of teachers who can instruct in the native language.

It must be recognized at the same time that in some cases it may be difficult to satisfy the requirements of Section 54 (2)(b) (English instruction for English speaking students) if no level of competency in English is established for teacher training candidates.

(ii) <u>Candidates for teacher training in the Western Arctic should be bilingual or must be prepared to take instruction in English or the native language which ever the candidate lacks.</u>

Increasing emphasis is being placed on the desire for native language programs in the schools in the Western Arctic. Whether the wish is for the revival or the maintenance of the language it is necessary in view of the present linguistic status of Dene languages in many communities for teacher training candidates to have knowledge of both languages. English will be the primary language of instruction in the training program and the native language is necessary if any requests for native language programs are to be satisfied.

It is the uniqueness of the training program's aim to produce teachers capable of providing instruction of and in the native language that justifies the existence of the program. English only teacher training could be more efficiently offered at many southern training institutions if a language component was not required.

(iii) <u>The standard of teacher training be sufficiently high that future eligibility of graduates for provincial certification will be a realistic aspiration.</u>

It is important that the best training possible be provided for the candidates of the Teacher Education Program. Programs should be designed so that students can ultimately progress to the point of being eligible for, or actually receive the equivalent of southern teacher certification. This may necessitate the provision of additional

university level courses beyond the requirements of basic N.W.T. certification either in or out of the Northwest Territories. However, this option should be open to graduates. To offer something less than this will not satisfy the aspirations of future northern teachers and will also downgrade them in the eyes of their southern trained colleagues. It will also mean that students in N.W.T. classrooms may receive something less than first quality education if opportunities for advanced training are not available or attainable.

(iv) Training programs should assist candidates to make full use of their bilingual skills and cultural awareness so that they may function as enlightened teachers in the bilingual/bicultural situation.

Only the native bilingual teacher can offer the cultural insight and perspective as well as facility in the native language.

If these strengths are not exploited and used to enhance the performance in the classroom, then there is little point in maintaining northern teacher training institutions. The aim should be to develop northern teachers who, because of their ability with the native language and familiarity with the cultural situation, can be regarded as "teachers plus" rather than average teachers.

(v) A field-based component of teacher training be developed and implemented.

Many potential teacher candidates are not prepared to leave home for a two year period. Many candidates are married with families and this responsibility combined with other cultural factors prohibits their full participation in the present form of teacher training. A partial field-based approach may alleviate this difficulty.

(vi) Adequate financial assistance (training allowances) or leave with allowances should be available to candidates for teacher training.

The present P.S.A.C. and N.W.T.T.A. salary scales provide little incentive for Diploma level classroom assistants to pursue teacher training. With the added load of limited financial assistance and loss of regular salary for two years during training it is not surprising that many classroom assistants do not view the move to teacher qualification as an attractive one.

The provision of an adequate training allowance (% of salary) for individuals already serving as classroom assistants and who are recommended for teacher training could possibly do much to encourage capable classroom assistants to consider advancing to teacher certification. An alternative approach would be to consider the teacher

training period as a period of leave with pay or allowances for professional advancement.

Similar financial support should be available to assist and encourage non-classroom assistant candidates for teacher training.

(vii) Representative boards should be established to provide input to the teacher education program.

At present there is no input from local or regional representatives concerning the direction or content of programs offered through the teacher education program. If local involvement in school programs is encouraged this should be extended to the institutions responsible for the training of the teachers who will be presenting community school programs.

3. Teacher/Classroom Assistant Training

It is recommended that:

(i) The review and rationalization of classroom assistant and teacher training presently being conducted in the Baffin Region be expanded to include the review of the different kinds of needs that exist in other parts of the N.W.T. and that resources be made available to conduct the review.

Within the review the following areas among others, should be considered:

(a) Role of the Classroom Assistant

- Classroom Assistant Responsibilities.

An examination of classroom assistant job descriptions will reveal duties ranging from simply assisting the teacher in the class to planning, preparing and presenting a program to a class and the subsequent student assessment.

A classroom assistant may be functioning at any level varying from that of teacher aide to that of classroom teacher.

- Responsibility for Program

At the present time a number of assistants have full or almost full responsibility for classes, especially at the Kindergarten level. In many cases satisfactory programs are being offered. This, however, is more dependant upon the good fortune of having a capable assistant than upon the system's staff placement policy.

At the same time, many schools which are attempting to offer mother tongue instruction at Kindergarten and Primary levels, are forced to use the classroom assistant in a teacher's role if the native language program is to be provided. In many cases this is functioning well but there is no assurance

that an existing good situation will continue. In some cases the existing situation is not satisfactory. This is not fair to the classroom assistant or to the student.

If the classroom assistant has all the skills and experience necessary to do the teacher's job then recognition of this should be made in position and remuneration.

Before establishing ambitious plans for bilingual programs, L.E.A.'s and principals should realistically assess the community's resources in personnel to carry out the program.

- Classroom Assistant's level of training

The particular assignment to which classroom assistants are assigned within a school is frequently not related to the classroom assistant's level of ability or training but is dictated by a vacancy which has occured in the staff. It is unreasonable to expect a new employee to adequately fill a position just vacated by a Diploma level assistant. Yet, because of the heavy dependance upon the classroom assistant to provide bilingual programs, it is often not possible to introduce a new assistant to his/her responsibilities gradually.

(b) Training Personnel

- Classroom Assistant Coordinator

Each school with two or more classroom assistants should have one of the members of the staff appointed as Classroom Assistant Coordinator. The coordinator's role would be to coordinate the training program for the assistants within the school. This role however should not interfere with the normal teacher-classroom assistant relationship which is essential for the full utilization of the assistant's skills and a positive team teaching relationship.

The coordinator and classroom assistant must be free of teaching duties for a period of time on a regular basis. This time should be devoted to classroom assistant training offered by the coordinator, principal, another staff member or outside resource personnel.

Training packages/modules should be prepared to assist the coordinator with the training program and to provide some uniformity of training and standards to be aimed for.

The program should be carefully monitored, the assistant's progress checked regularly and progress recorded on a regular basis.

The Classroom Assistant Coordinator function could be carried out on a contract basis by a qualified individual not employed in the

school (e.g., a retired or unemployed teacher, adult educator, etc.). This would lessen the burden on the regular staff members and would allow for greater flexibility in the training program.

- Classroom Assistant Consultant

Past experience has proved the value of capable consultants who have been able to offer suggestions, teaching ideas and workshops to teachers who are otherwise isolated from professional stimulation and guidance.

The need for a similar consultant to work with and assist classroom assistants is even greater as there is considerable work to be done in the area of providing in-service training as well as teaching suggestions.

Each region, therefore, should have a consultant who, ideally, would be bilingual and have extensive experience in elementary and bilingual education. This individual's main responsibility would be to prepare and present training sessions for classroom assistants and to provide suggestions and guidance to both cooperating teacher and assistant involved in the bilingual program. Another area of responsibility would be the monitoring of the C.A. training program and identification of the future training needs of the school's assistants.

- Classroom Assistant Advisor

A valuable addition to a regional staff to assist in the provision of field-based training and in communicating teaching ideas and suggestions would be a capable bilingual teacher working as a Classroom Assistant Advisor.

There are individuals within the system (graduates of the Teacher Education Program) who, although not possessing at this point the background and breadth of experience to qualify them as consultants, have proved themselves as capable teachers with knowledge and experience, especially in primary native language programs and who have the bilingual ability to communicate their ideas in both languages. These individuals could offer a significant contribution in assisting classroom assistants in their own language and thus free consultants to work in other training and specialized areas.

With this type of experience and additional formal training these individuals could progress to becoming capable bilingual consultants.

4. Programs

It is recommended that:

(i) Native language programs are to be considered as part of the total education package and should be funded by the Department of Education.

There is need for the clarification of the responsibilities of the L.E.A. and the school (department) with respect to the provision of instructors for areas such as cultural inclusion and language instruction. At present these programs are provided in a variety of ways by classroom assistants, bilingual teachers and L.E.A. employees acting as language/cultural instructors.

In some schools the responsibility for the provision of native language programs has been assumed by the L.E.A. as part of the cultural inclusion program. In other schools these programs are considered as part of the regular school program and instruction of the native language is provided by regular staff members (either bilingual teachers or classroom assistants).

There is no clear guide for L.E.A.'s to follow when considering the implementation of native language programs. Where there is strong support from the school staff and principal, little difficulty is experienced in having much of the native language program provided by members of the regular staff. In other instances, L.E.A.'s have had little direct influence in determining the duties of the local permanent staff and in some cases expansion of native language programs has been accomplished by the hiring of additional local staff members through the use of cultural inclusion funding. In many cases the number of native language speaking staff members is not sufficient to provide the

language program which the L.E.A. would like to see provided.

In some cases the existence of a good language program is dependent upon the resourcefulness of the L.E.A. in obtaining sufficient funds to operate it.

(ii) Program development and materials production should include participation by local resource personnel so that local content and the appropriate cultural perspective will be incorporated into programs.

The need for relevant program support material is urgent and because of the diversity encountered in the different regions and communities it is not practical for the development of all materials to be done on a territorial basis.

The involvement of local staff and local qualified instructors is necessary and desirable. Not only would this result in linguistically and culturally relevant materials but the process will create a greater level of interest in the school and a feeling of sharing and responsibility for what is being provided for the students within the school.

There would be need for this type of work to be coordinated at the regional and territorial level and as a result many of the materials produced could be useful (with or without modification) in other regions.

5. Teacher Recruitment and Orientation

It is recommended that:

(i) A task force be set up; to review the procedures used for teacher recruitment, orientation and placement.

- Recruitment

In spite of the Department of Education's long time aim to hire capable, experienced teachers, recent trends in the recruitment of teachers for the north have been towards the hiring of larger numbers of new or fairly recent graduates. This is the consequence of the tight job situation in southern Canada which has resulted in a reluctance on the part of experienced teachers to risk leaving secure positions.

For this and other reasons, a change in the present recruitment and orientation procedures should be considered.

Possible approaches might be:

Presentation of information packages to interested education students at education facilities outlining the skills and training needed by prospective northern teachers. This information should be provided early enough so the students may tailor their program of studies towards northern education.

Contact should be established with universities and faculties of education especially those offfering courses in cross cultural education and native studies. Superintendents and Programs and Evaluation personnel could easily serve as visiting lecturers during normal departmental travel time and make presentations to student groups. The challenge of teaching in the multi-cultural setting should be emphasized (rather than that of living in the north as is the case in some present recruitment presentations). A stimulating and thought provoking presentation kit could be prepared and be available to departmental personnel to form the basis of such presentations (perhaps patterned on the style of the Language Development Kit).

Departmental representatives should attend conferences and other gatherings where teachers and education students with an interest and/or training in multi-cultural and bilingual education are present. Presentations of information and displays of N.W.T. culturual and language program outlines as well as other program materials would familiarize interested individuals with the educational environment in the Northwest Territories.

The Northwest Territories is not the only area in North America which is seeking to hire the best professionals available in the area of multi-cultural education. By aggressively presenting information about teaching in the north, the Department is

encouraging prospective northern teachers to prepare themselves with relevant courses and training.

- Orientation

Over the past years almost every type of orientation imaginable has been offered to new teaching staff. These programs have been offered at various locations from the settlement to university campus.

Areas covered in past orientation sessions have included northern living conditions, the teaching situation, cultural and linguistic factors and school programs. Greater emphasis must be placed on the familiarization of new staff with the teacher's role in the bilingual classroom, the teacher's relationship with the classroom assistant and the community and cultural factors which will be of importance in the classroom. An introduction to the native language should also be provided.

Orientation sessions must address these areas and provide information which will be relevant for the area (region) in which the teacher is to work. All teachers must be provided with a basic program of orientation so that all staff, supervisors and L.E.A.'s can be assured that all new teachers have the same basis of understanding for their level of functioning within the school and community. This will provide a sound basis for their continued development as northern teachers.

- Northern Practice Teaching for Southern Students

Each year a number of new teachers gain employment within the department only to return south after one or two years of service. Some find that the northern teaching situation is not what they expected and others are found to be unsuitable.

The orientation to the northern teaching environment which would be provided by northern practice-teaching sessions for southern student teachers would better prepare them for northern service and would provide the Department the opportunity to evaluate the teacher's performance before any commitment to hire is made. Not all student teachers would decide to teach in the north, nor would all be acceptable. However, a trial of this type of program may show results in greater length of service by new teachers and better preparation for and adjustment to northern teaching. It would also provide a more realistic setting for students involved in native studies programs to put theory into practice.

If this type of program proved to be successful the expense of cooperating with faculties/students financially would result in long term savings in recruitment and removal costs as well as increasing the success rate of new graduates in the northern classroom.

6. Professional Development

It is recommended that:

(i) <u>There be a better degree of coordination between regional and school staffs in the selection of topics for professional development days.</u>

- Planning

Professional development sessions are frequently planned without any clear attempt to provide staff with a sequential or needs-oriented program of professional training. Sessions are sometimes dependant upon the availability of resource personnel. Regional staff who have an overall regional awareness of needs should be fully involved with principals and teaching staff in the determination of workshop topics before P.D. sessions are planned. Coordination with other regions may facilitate the joint use of resource personnel resulting in a saving of funds.

(ii) <u>A priority be placed on providing workshop time directed to guiding teachers in areas such as E.S.L., principles of bilingual education, cross-cultural education and the importance of local involvement and input from the community for the success of the whole education program.</u>

Extensive programs are required to familiarize continuing staff with the general principles of bilingual education and with other specific needs of the system.

Teachers must become more aware of the aim of bilingual education programs so that native language programs are seen as a positive force within the system and not in conflict with what they are attempting to accomplish. There must be the realization that school programs must be functioning in harmony with the community's wishes and not in isolation. Because of the large percentage of southern trained teachers on which the system is dependent at the present time, no program will be successful without the understanding and support of this group.

(iii) Certificate programs be established for northern teachers and classroom assistants so that teachers may gain specialized training in areas of particular significance in northern education.

Many aspects of northern education require specialized skills which are learned and utilized only within the bilingual/bicultural environment. The better qualified the teaching staff is in these specialist areas, the better will be the instruction provided. Areas such as E.S.L., bilingual education, special and remedial education and native language instruction are areas which are particularly critical in the northern classroom. Training should also be provided for

bilingual teachers who have some interest in becoming instructors in classroom assistant or teacher training programs.

The provision of a series of courses in these areas on a regular basis offered either during professional development days or during summer periods would permit teachers to gain relevant northern expertize which could be recognized by the Department with appropriate certification (e.g. Language Instructor-1, Language Instructor - Intermediate, Language Instructor - Specialist).

(iv) Professional development staff be available to offer workshops and training sessions to teaching staff.

At the present time professional development is provided by teacher consultants, program development staff and fellow teachers. This places an unnecessary burden on these individuals who all have full time responsibilities in their main job assignments.

In order to have well planned and worthwhile ongoing programs of professional development it is necessary to provide staff who can devote full time to this end. The programs offered should be coordinated through consultation with the Professional Development Officer and regional education staff.

7. Regional Curriculum Committees

It is recommended that:

(i) <u>The Regional Curriculum Committee be composed of a small group (approximately 3-4 members) rather than by representatives from schools as at the present time.</u>

Little is to be gained in requiring representation from each school, if, in fact a school has no individuals interested or qualified to serve on the committee. In some cases teachers new to the north and in other cases, teachers already committed to leaving have been involved in regional curriculum work. In some instances funds have been used for committee members to travel to attend meetings to which they have had little to offer. Valuable as these sessions may be as learning experiences participants must be ready and able to offer something to the program development process.

There is need for the committee to have at least one member with a regional perspective so that reasonable priorities and program objectives are established.

It is suggested that the Regional Curriculum Committee include the Supervisor of Schools or Teacher Consultant, an experienced northern teacher and a Diploma level classroom assistant on the core committee. Additional members could be sought when and as needed.

It would be useful for the Regional Resource Centre Coordinator to be an associate member of the curriculum committee so that ready advice and guidance could be provided with respect to the technicalities of regional production of materials and to serve as a link with the Coordinator of Media Development.

(iii) <u>The Regional Curriculum Committee be directly involved in the determination of regional program needs and the identification of personnel capable of preparing the materials required.</u>

The demands placed on staff by their regular school activities in many cases precludes the possibility of committee members becoming involved to any degree in program or materials development without being released from regular duties.

However, the committee can provide valuable service if, in consultation with the teaching staff, L.E.A., and community resource personnel, native language and other program needs can be determined and individuals or groups qualified and ready to work on the preparation of specific projects be identified.

Program development and materials production projects could be set up, monitored and evaluated by the committee.

(iii) The Regional Curriculum Committee act as a coordinating body to assist program specialists in specific program development assignments involving local or regional personnel.

The Regional Curriculum Committee should act as the program specialists' link with regional teachers and resource personnel.

Two-way communication should be provided by the Regional Curriculum Committee to keep program specialists in touch with regional activities and needs and also serve as a research and information gathering extention of Programs and Evaluation in the region.

8. Regional Resource Centres

It is recommended that:

(i) Regional Resource Centres must be improved to the level of being active production centres able to respond to the needs of schools and L.E.A.'s for materials production for native language and bilingual education programs as well as other program areas. This would involve increases in (a) personnel; (b) facilities; (c) funding and (d) capital.

A tremendous development and production potential is available within the Regional Resource Centres. Each regional centre should be able to respond rapidly to requests from schools for production of teaching aids and learning materials. Centres should not serve as distribution centres only.

Because of the close proximity to the area or school requesting materials and because of the more intimate knowledge of the region's linguistic and cultural characteristics, the Regional Resource Centre can provide an individualized service which cannot be provided by a centralized operation.

Each centre should be staffed by a minimum of two full time staff members. One should serve as coordinator, qualifications for which should include teacher certification. This individual would be responsible for much of the developmental work and the supervisory responsibility of the centre. The second employee would have technical responsibilities.

Each of the regional centres should be gradually improved to ultimately include all necessary equipment and expertize to handle one area of development or production well, e.g. print; video tape production, editing and duplication; photography; etc. Some centres are already developing in this manner.

There is little point in duplicating expensive capital equipment when with skilled regional staff and continuing liaison and coordination between regions each centre could provide a service to be shared with others.

In many cases where services are provided for schools a cost sharing arrangement should be

considered to help alleviate additional costs.

(ii) Regular contact be established between Regional Resource Centres and between each Resource Centre and the Coordinator of Media Development to provide a regular interchange of ideas and exchange of materials.

The Annual Regional Resource Centre Coordinators' meeting should be continued and broadened to include workshop sessions where the coordinators and/or technicians could receive training. Additionally, the mechanics should be established for regular communication between centres and the Coordinator of Media Development with consideration being given to possible multi-regional use of materials being produced and the sharing of facilities and ideas to increase production potential. (For example, one region could produce a video tape or set of slides, which could be supported by print materials and/or audio materials produced in other centres with facilities and expertize available there.)

This increased coordination, although useful in all areas of materials production, should be particularly valuable in the area of production of bilingual education materials of which all areas are in need.

9. Research and Evaluation

It is recommended that:

(i) <u>The Department of Education establish a research and evaluation unit</u>.

In surveying the literature it is difficult to find relevant data concerning Northwest Territories bilingual programs. Few, if any serious research studies have been conducted.

For example:

- Many of the programs which appear to be working have been developed as a result of the initiative of individuals or groups in the school or community. Unfortunately, little has been done to document the planning or the resulting program which has been used. The transiency of staff makes it difficult even to attempt to reconstruct the procedure which was followed in the establishment of the successful (and unsuccessful) programs.

- At the present time it is difficult to know exactly how many students of any particular language dominance are within the system. There is no accurate data to indicate the linguistic situation within any particular community.

- The issues of testing for language proficiency and language dominance are ones which require considerable study and research. Little information is available at the

present time about testing in these areas and the limited number of language specialists with competence in northern languages makes this study even more difficult.

- As previously mentioned there is little data to support statements regarding the cognitive development of native students. Additional information to provide guidance to teachers in the classroom and to program development personnel would do much to increase the possibilities for success of northern education programs.

- Little information is available to teachers concerning the learning and teaching styles which are most productive and least disruptive to education in the northern bicultural classroom. Much work needs to be done in this area so that new teachers can be better prepared for their assignments in order that students gain optimum value from their learning experiences.

- Evaluation of materials is necessary for both educational and financial reasons. Little is to be gained by continuing to produce and distribute materials to support bilingual programs if they are ineffective and inappropriate. Much work is necessary to review present programs and consider their appropriateness if used as program guidelines for programs taught in the native language. Teaching in the native language must involve more than the simple translation of English language programs.

- The areas of teacher and classroom assistant training have known little but change since their establishment. This is continuing and this will likely be the case for some time to come if these programs are to satisfactorily meet the needs of the changing scene. However, the N.W.T. programs are not unique in the area of native teacher training. Many programs exist throughout Canada and North America as well as other parts of the world. It makes little sense not to avail ourselves of the research and evaluation which has taken place with respect to these programs. An ongoing study of these other programs and a continuing assessment of the strengths and weakness of the present training program and its graduates is necessary.

(ii) <u>The needs for research and evaluation be coordinated with the needs for relevant professional development.</u>

Over past years many members of the Department of Education staff have been engaged in further study at university or in field research. Much of this study has been directed primarily toward the professional advancement of the individuals concerned and only a limited amount has been of any direct benefit to education in the north. Naturally any professional development or further education in which staff participate should be aimed to benefit the individual, however, with the number of areas in northern education requiring clarification, it should not be difficult for individuals to identify

areas for study which would be of benefit to both themselves and northern education.

Such involvement in northern research could be encouraged by the allocation of a portion of professional development funds for individuals proposing northern study or research projects.

The Department of Education should second qualified individuals to perform specific research projects or finance sabatical leave for individuals who have special skills and interests in areas of primary concern in multi-cultural or bilingual education.

The development of a cadre of qualified personnel must be partially financed and engineered by the Department if such a group is to develop.

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